ED 030 515 RC 003 495

By-Harkins, Arthur M.; Woods, Richard G.
Attitudes of Minneapolis Agency Personnel Toward Urban Indians.
Minnesota Univ., Minneapolis. Training Center for Community Programs.
Pub Date Dec 68
Note-87p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$4.45
Descriptors-Adjustment Problems, Agency Role, American History, *American Indians, *Attitudes, Churches, *City Problems, Comparative Statistics, Employment, Housing, Legal Problems, Libraries, Parks, *Personnel Evaluation, Social Services, Tables (Data), Urban Education, *Urban Environment, Welfare
Identifiers-Chippewas, *Minneapolis

Problem areas of American Indians in the urban setting, especially employment, education, health, justice, housing, public welfare, parks, libraries, churches, and the Indian Center are summarized. The relationship of these problem areas to Chippewa history and culture in Minnesota is discussed. Indian applicants at the American Indian Employment Center and inner-city Indian residents in Minneapolis are described. Inner-city Indian residents are compared with the white population, and agency services and assistance needed by both groups are presented. A review of the attitudes of agency personnel towards Indians includes meanings and implications. Non-high school graduates and high school graduates applying for employment are compared by sex in the concluding appendix. (SW)

ED030515

TRAINING CENTER for Community Programs

ATTITUDES OF MINNEAPOLIS AGENCY PERSONNEL TOWARD URBAN INDIANS

RC003495

RECEIVED
JUL 14 1969
NMSU
E.R.I.C.

University of Minnesota

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

ATTITUDES OF MINNEAPOLIS AGENCY PERSONNEL TOWARD URBAN INDIANS

by
Arthur M. Harkins
and
Richard G. Woods

Training Center for
Community Programs

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minnesota

December, 1968

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction..........1

Indians in Minneapolis..........1

Employment..........2

Education..........5

Health..........6

Justice..........7

Housing..........9

Public Welfare..........11

Parks and Libraries..........12

Social Services..........13

Churches..........14

The Indian Center..........14

History and Culture of the Minnesota Chippewa..........17

American Indian Employment Center Applicants..........21

Indian Residents in the Inner City of Minneapolis..........25

Comparisons with a White Population..........29

Population Needs for Agency Services and Assistance..........32

Attitudes of Employment and Other Agency Personnel Toward Indians..........35

Responses of Minneapolis Agency Personnel Regarding Indians..........39

Some Implications of Agency Personnel Attitudes..........71

APPENDIX

NON-HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES VERSUS HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES, BY SEX

ATTITUDES OF MINNEAPOLIS AGENCY PERSONNEL TOWARD URBAN INDIANS

INTRODUCTION

INDIANS IN MINNEAPOLIS, an April, 1968 publication of the League of Women Voters of Minneapolis, focused on several problem areas of Indian Americans in the urban setting, especially employment, education, health, justice, housing, public welfare, parks and libraries, churches and the Indian Center. The League study, produced in collaboration with the Training Center for Community Programs, University of Minnesota, provides detailed information about the difficulties encountered by Indian Americans in these areas. The reader is urged to carefully review that publication as background for this report.

This special report will (1) briefly summarize certain aspects of the LWV-TCCP study; (2) discuss the relationship of these findings to Chippewa history and culture in Minnesota; (3) describe Indian applicants at the American Indian Employment Center; (4) describe inner-city Indian residents in Minneapolis; (5) compare inner-city Indian residents in Minneapolis with inner-city Whites; (6) discuss the needs of these populations for agency services and assistance; (7) report the attitudes of Minneapolis agency personnel towards Indians; and (8) suggest meanings and implications for these expressed attitudes.

INDIANS IN MINNEAPOLIS

Selected findings from the LWV-TCCP study are summarized in the following pages, according to agency category. This summary is necessarily brief, and it omits much that is of value in the complete study. The reader is again encouraged to read the full LWV-TCCP report.

EMPLOYMENT

1. Many Indians migrate to Minneapolis in response to the attraction of job opportunities, yet "many Indians looking for work in a competitive urban society are unprepared for it."

2. Indians new to the city may arrive with few clothes and little money. They may move in with already overcrowded friends or relatives. Such conditions make it difficult for Indians to maintain the sort of appearance necessary for finding employment.

3. Indians may be uneasy about working with non-Indians and about the prerequisites of work -- "application blanks, interviews, referrals, and questions which seem too personal or irrelevant. Standardized tests are standardized for a majority, alien society."

4. Employment assistance provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs is available by application through the Bureau's reservation offices. However, the Indian who comes to the city on his own is not eligible for help from the BIA, since BIA programs are "viewed as a part of the Bureau's responsibility as trustee of Indian lands." This is doubtless confusing to many Indians. "An Indian in a reservation area receiving services from the BIA believes that he has received these services because he is Indian, and not because of the trust status of his land. He comes to expect that he will not be eligible for assistance in the manner prescribed for non-Indians. When he comes to the city, then, he does not look for help in the channels set up to serve all citizens."

5. "City and county agencies in the metropolitan area report that Indians tend not to use their services, or that they are easily discouraged and tend not to return."

6. Indians without marketable skills or with employment problems may be eligible for Human Resources Development services of the Minnesota State Employment Service designed to improve employability. Indians seem to prefer dealing with Indian employees of the MSES. The MSES has employment specialists outstationed at the Citizens Community Centers and it also utilizes neighborhood workers to reach the unemployed, including Indians.

7. The American Indian Employment and Guidance Center, established in 1962, was formed in the belief that special Indian problems necessitated a special Indian agency. Plagued by sporadic funding, the Center has had an intermittent history culminating in its funding by the BIA as the nation's first government-financed employment office for urban Indians. It was closed after BIA funds were discontinued at the end of fiscal 1968.

8. "It appears that Indians who come to the Indian Employment Center are persons who feel that they need an agency for Indians. If they are not willing or able to use the community's services, a service they will use may have to be provided."

9. Few Indians are government employees, perhaps due to difficulties in passing civil service examinations. Since 1962 only three formal and informal complaints have been filed by Indians with the Minneapolis Fair Employment Practices Commission.

10. A few Indians are managing to work their way around Civil Service problems through the New Careers Program.

11. The Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center's "Plans for Progress" Project is one which serves clients referred by the Youth Opportunity Center for rehabilitation of job attitudes and training for stable employment. In spring, 1968, twelve of the eighteen youths in the project

were Indian.

12. It appears that many Indian women seek domestic work. Placements of this sort occur regularly at the State Employment Service and at Unity Settlement House.

13. It appears that few Indians become involved with such organizations as the Career Clinic for Mature Women, TCOIC, and the Public Schools' Work Opportunity Center.

14. "The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission of the federal government reported last fall that there were 785 American Indians employed in the five-county metropolitan area. Of these, 148 held white collar jobs and 637 (81%) held blue collar jobs. The survey covered all employers having 100 or more employees, or having five or more employees and a federal government contract in excess of $50,000. According to a newspaper report, this survey covered 292,000 out of a total of 303,000 persons employed in the area."

15. "For that portion of the Indian population accepting the standards, customs and traditions of 'white America', employment presents no real problems. However, other Indians seem to have rejected some of these values of 'getting ahead' and acquiring material wealth as having little meaning to them."

16. At various times, an Indian newcomer center or an all-Indian workshop have been suggested as a bridge between reservation life and the city.

17. "New approaches will have to be developed for the employment of Indian citizens. Involved in such approaches must be the recognition of cultural factors, unfamiliarity and distrust of established institutions and testing techniques, and confusion caused by the proliferation of agencies that want to be of help."

EDUCATION

1. Last November's racial sight count found 1,357 Indian children attending the Minneapolis Public Schools, of which 70% were in elementary schools, 19.5% were in junior high schools, and 10.5% were in senior high schools. The dropout rate appears to be extremely high; one school official estimates it at about 60%.

2. There is also a problem of racial imbalance. There are more Indians than Negroes in three schools the school board has declared imbalanced.

3. Potentially helpful is the Minneapolis Public School System's Human Relations Center, which is committed to provide leadership by involving the minority community in "finding solutions to problems which seriously inhibit the creation and maintenance of a positive learning situation." The System's Urban Affairs Office is working to improve the racial balance in the schools and it is actively recruiting non-white staff applicants including Indians to serve as aides and trainees. Another positive potentiality is an attempt to keep Indian children in high school through an Upward Bound (OEO) proposal, jointly sponsored by the Minneapolis Public Schools, the Training Center for Community Programs of the University of Minnesota, and local Indians.

4. It is reported that many Indian children enter school late in the fall, losing as much as eight weeks of schooling. Apparently, these are children whose families keep them out of school until the ricing or hunting season is over. Because of compulsory school attendance laws, this can lead to labeling an Indian child as "delinquent" after repeated truancy, a procedure resented by some Indians in Minneapolis.

5. School curricula and textbooks have tended to express only the white person's point of view, and there seems to be little available material establishing a positive historical image of the Indian American.

6. The current trend is to organize material around concepts and isolated understandings, rather than around historical events. Some school officials and Minneapolis Indians feel that teaching methods should give a much larger consideration to Indian contributions to our contemporary society.

7. Limited scholarships for Indian students in colleges and vocational schools are available and related counseling is available, but most persons interviewed by the League were concerned that more scholarship funds will be needed because costs are rising rapidly and more Indians are finishing high school. Urban Indians are not eligible for some BIA scholarships because of their residence. "If scholarship help is going to be extended not only to the exceptional, but to the average Indian student who will not be able to compete for other existing scholarships, additional assistance will be needed in the years ahead."

HEALTH

1. Health officials say that much needs to be done in health education and preventive medicine to meet the needs of Minneapolis Indians. Although Indian infant mortality in Minneapolis was low in 1965 (less than half that of the general population), the state-wide Indian infant mortality rate in 1963 was one and one-half times higher than the general population. The incidence of tuberculosis and venereal disease is quite high for the Indian population.

2. Care at Hennepin County General Hospital is limited except in

emergencies to those who have established legal residence here, but a fairly large number of other health services exists to provide care which is not tied to length of residence. Indians are not always motivated to use them, however.

3. Barriers to Indians who are seeking medical care include residence requirements, extensive paper work and long delays. In addition, some practitioners say that it is hard to help Indians because of the difficulty in getting them to return for medical follow-up treatment.

4. Interns, resident physicians and other staff members are given no special training in dealing with different ethnic groups.

5. A number of hospitals have out-patient clinics for low-income persons, so that some minimal health care is available to Indians if they choose to use it or know of its existence.

JUSTICE

1. A disproportionately large number of the Indian population - perhaps 7½% - gets into trouble with the law in Minneapolis. Most of the crimes committed are misdemeanors - drunkenness, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, simple assault and traffic offenses.

2. "The Minneapolis Division of Corrections reported that 11% of the men sent to the Minneapolis Workhouse and 22% of the women committed to the Women's Detention Home in 1966 were Indian. And, based on a projection of six months of 1967, Indians accounted for one-third of the number of all referrals (repeaters are not taken into account) to the Hennepin County Municipal Court Probation Office."

3. Law enforcement and corrections personnel observe that Indians are apparently ignorant of the law and of their rights in respect to it.

There seems to be some confusion about what is "legal", that is, how the laws are enforced on the reservations compared to a more complex city environment.

4. Some observers note that the high number of committments to the workhouse is due largely to the lack of communication between probation officers and Indian probationers. The rate of failure - violation of probation to the point of revocation - is much too high with Indians.

5. "A Minneapolis police official who testified at hearings before the State Indian Affairs Commission said Indians were more frequently brought in on drunk charges because they were more 'visible' to police; they were drunk on 'skid row' rather than at home or in front of a fashionable restaurant, he said."

6. Although several complaints have been filed by Indians alleging abusive treatment by policemen, most have been dismissed and only two cases were being considered by the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union at this writing. Some observers feel that these cases represent only a few of the incidents of discrimination which occur. They are convinced that Indians are unwilling to file complaints because they fear reprisals and because they lack faith in the objectivity of the police department in looking into complaints against itself.

7. Many Indians cannot afford the services of a lawyer, and for these persons legal services are available through several agencies. The Legal Aid Society provides attorneys in civil cases at a cost based on ability to pay. A public defender can be appointed by the court in felony cases, misdemeanors and ordinance-violation cases which might lead to "incarceration in a penal institution." But few Indians request the

services of the District Court public defender's office, which reports that it is difficult to get Indian witnesses to appear in courts.

8. About 3% of the juveniles who become involved with the Juvenile Probation Department, Juvenile Center and County Home School are Indian. "The offenses most commonly mentioned in the case of Indian youth were truancy and car theft...those working with juvenile probation see Indian family disorganization, lack of family ties and instability as severe underlying problems...probation officers feel that communication is a basic and overwhelming problem..."

9. None of the agencies interviewed by the League had any Indian employees.

10. "Some persons in correction and probationary work who were interviewed expressed a desire and a 'need' for more information about Indian culture and reservation living conditions. Most of the patrolmen said they did not need special information about Indians since they "handle all situations in essentially the same way."

HOUSING

1. "A City Planning Department official views present Indian housing as the worst housing in the worst neighborhoods in the city." However, with urban renewal slated for the neighborhoods containing most Indians, dramatic changes can be expected in the next few years. "Whether Indians will be included, and will include themselves, in the planning for these changes and will remain in these areas in improved surroundings remains to be seen."

2. "One reason for poor Indian housing is overcrowding, some of which seems to be due to an Indian philosophy that even distant relatives

are part of the family and should be taken into the household. "This practice makes household budgeting difficult for the Indian, even when he is motivated to budget his expenses; it may also cause unpleasantness with the landlord. On the other hand, Indians seldom request repairs, and put up with really deplorable conditions without complaining."

3. "Generally, even poor city housing is an improvement over housing conditions on the reservations, and an Indian homemaker may not only be severely limited in funds but may have had little experience in keeping up a house."

4. "Although the Welfare Department and the Citizens Community Centers have some home management aides on their staffs, many more are needed, especially if they are Indians..."

5. Some experts note that Indians perceive a house primarily as a shelter and as a place to store things out of the weather. Consequently, there is seldom any vying to build a bigger house than one's neighbor.

6. Agencies working with Indians say there are many landlords who won't rent to Indians; the landlords reply that the reason is that Indians overcrowd the housing and don't take care of it.

7. Citizens Community Centers and the BIA assist Indians requesting housing, and the BIA finds housing for Indians brought to the Twin Cities for vocational training or jobs, and places these persons or families in rented apartments, homes or public housing.

8. A BIA home purchase program in Minneapolis is being effectively carried out for Indian families.

9. There appear to be relatively few Indians in public housing. It appears that the "one year's residence in Minneapolis" requirement to get

into public housing works a hardship on mobile Indian families.

10. The LWV-TCCP report concluded, "The best and most permanent solution to housing problems would be, of course, to provide better education and jobs for Indians."

PUBLIC WELFARE

1. In 1966, 5½% of all Hennepin county public assistance recipients and 10% of all Minneapolis public relief recipients were Indian.

2. Although the Hennepin County Welfare Department administers a large number of public assistance programs with specific statutory eligibility requirements, child welfare and casework services are generally available to anyone seeking them.

3. "No other county in Minnesota has as many Indian AFDC families as Hennepin County, although throughout the state this program has the highest totals of Indians within any of the public assistance programs. One-third of the state's Indian AFDC families live in Hennepin County."

4. "An analysis of the state's AFDC cases shows there are some differences in the status of the father in Indian cases: about ¼ of the parents were divorced or legally separated in Indian cases compared to over 1/3 in all cases, and ½ of the parents were unmarried in Indian cases compared to about 1/8 in all cases."

5. In Hennepin County the medical assistance program has mainly been used to care for persons over 65; "however, most Indian recipients have been children known to be 'medically deprived'".

6. Indians in small numbers receive Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Disabled, and Aid to the Blind. "Of 1,401 children under state guardianship, 133 are Indian. These children are legally wards of the state because of

being neglected or dependent." In 1966 the county supervised care of 245 Indian children who are not under state guardianship. Because of lack of records, it is not possible to state how many retarded Indian children are served.

7. "There are no complete official statistics as to how many unmarried mothers are served by the county welfare department, but in an informal survey taken during a recent 12-month period, 70 of 1,083 cases were Indian."

8. One welfare official has stated that Indians do not actively abuse their children, but are apt to be reported for passive abuse - leaving them alone, unfed, unclean, etc.

9. Of those receiving Public Relief during 1967, Indians represented 7% of the family units and 10% of the individuals.

10. "Neither the county nor city welfare agencies employ case workers or secretarial help who are Indian...Regular in-service training is given to each new worker but does not include background information on Indian culture or how to work with Indians.

11. Social workers find that "Indians do not involve themselves in existing community organizations, yet have need for non-institutional groups to which they can turn...Agencies for Indians are not well known by other agencies; Indian clients generally are more familiar with them, the workers said."

PARKS AND LIBRARIES

1. Although Minneapolis has much park property, at present the city's parks and recreation facilities do not seem to be of much use to the Indian residents of the city. This is largely due to the fact that the

city lacks park acreage in the right places - that is, in areas of high concentrations of Indians. It seems that few of the 15 parks with year-round recreation staff are in areas of the heaviest Indian concentration and few draw Indians to their programs. In addition, parks in Indian neighborhoods appear less apt to have a full-time staff and more likely to be summer playgrounds staffed only eight weeks of the year, from mid-June to mid-August.

2. No Indians are employed, even part-time, by the park and recreation department, although several Negroes and Japanese-Americans are.

3. Minneapolis Indians use the Minneapolis Public Library only to a small extent. Use is virtually limited to two buildings, the main library and the Franklin Branch.

SOCIAL SERVICES

1. The Community Health and Welfare Council has studied social agencies and found that concentrations of services did not exist in many of the areas that had the lowest income, the most welfare cases, the most juvenile delinquency, the worst housing, the most family problems and the largest non-white population.

2. Few, if any, Indians appear to be involved in such organizations as Big Brothers, Big Sisters, the Boys Clubs, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Campfire Girls, and YWCA and the YMCA.

3. Travelers Aid provides service at the bus depot where they say 20% of their caseload are Indian newcomers. The Health and Welfare Council's Community Information and Referral Service provides information about the community's health, welfare and recreation resources to many persons who

inquire each year. The staff reports that Indians are most likely to come for legal, financial, health, housing or camp assistance, and least likely to inquire about day care, conseling and services for unmarried mothers.

4. Settlement houses report varying numbers of Indians who participate in activities. Minneapolis VISTAs have been assigned to the American Indian Employment Center, and that Center's teen center has been an outgrowth.

CHURCHES

1. The United Church Committee on Indian Work (also known as the Department of Indian Work of the Minnesota Council of Churches) estimates that the agency sees between 800 and 1,000 Minneapolis Indian families and individuals a year. Initiated 14 years ago for the purpose of relating Indian families to existing local churches, its main function has now come to be one of counseling and referral to social service agencies.

2. Local churches and religious organizations are active in many different ways in serving Indian needs. Included among these groups are the Church Women United Chapter of the Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches, the Plymouth Youth Center, the Loring-Nicollet Center, the Episcopal Neighborhood Center, and the American Indian Evangelical Church.

3. Missionaries, the Salvation Army, the House of Charity, and the Minneapolis Revival Mission also provide services and aid to Indians.

THE INDIAN CENTER

1. The Upper Midwest American Indian Center was founded seven years ago when it was incorporated as a non-profit organization. During

the following years, the Center existed in various locations and sponsored pow-wows and athletic teams.

2. During the past year funds for a staff were provided by the OEO. The Center, newly staffed with OEO money, opened on April 1, 1967 and reached 864 Indian families with information, referral and follow-up during the first five months. Included in its program have been a summer program for grade-school children, tutorials for Indian children, a special teen program, a bi-monthly newsletter, Family Night activities, formation of an Indian Alcoholics Anonymous chapter, a recreation and drama club for children, a sewing club, and a social group known as the Indian Advancement Association.

3. Although community organization efforts have been discouraging, some hopeful signs include representation on boards of the anti-poverty program, a new parent discussion group, the planning of the STAIRS tutorial project, a group interested in an Upward Bound program for Indian school children, and a Concerned Indian Americans group, a coalition of Indians which hopes Indians can unite and speak out.

4. Mayor Naftalin has appointed a task force called the Minneapolis Committee on American Indian Affairs, which hopes to become a subcommittee of the Minneapolis Commission on Human Relations.

5. The LWV-TCCP report appraises the Indian Center in the following terms: "It offers a point of contact for Indians with non-Indians. It offers friendship and counsel to newcomers and a channel for assistance and donations from outside the Indian community. It provides a place where agencies can reach persons they want to serve."

Even this superficial summary of the LWV-TCCP study shows a multi-dimensional problem for the Indian American in Minneapolis. Of course, there are Indians in Minneapolis who are self-reliant and successful, and who are not seen by agency personnel; indeed, one of the purposes of this report is to show that there are different populations of Indians in Minneapolis with different characteristics. But it is difficult to read the LWV-TCCP report without getting a distinctly depressing picture of the plight of the Indian American here.

It is always risky to generalize, but one could easily form the impression from Indians in Minneapolis that the Indian seen by agency personnel might be described as follows:

> Poorly equipped for employment and accustomed to the services of a single agency (the BIA) on the reservation, he finds himself in a confusing and competitive urban setting which requires aggressive social-action on his part to obtain the agency services which he so badly needs. His children often do not remain in school until high-school graduation. Plagued by infant mortality, tuberculosis, and venereal disease, he also is more likely than whites to get in trouble with the law. He occupies the worst housing in the worst neighborhoods in the city, where he is likely to become "host" to an extended family, creating overcrowding. One in ten relief recipients in Minneapolis is an Indian, yet estimates of the total Indian population are from 6,000 to 8,000. The Minneapolis Indian tends to live in areas where parks and recreational facilities are inadequate; current efforts at renewal will change this situation, providing the Indian participates in the planning for these changes and remains in the area as a resident. Lack of participation in institutions seems to be characteristic of the Indian. He uses the city's library facilities

very sparingly. He tends not to get involved with social service organizations. In general, he remains apart from organized community efforts which facilitate the solution of social problems.

Two exceptions are apparent: the United Church Committee on Indian Work functions as a counseling and referral agency with some success, and the Upper Midwest American Indian Center serves as a social and community action center for Indians. This Center (together with the defunct American Indian Employment Center) has provided employment services for Indians, but it suffers from inadequate funding.

This picture is not unlike that which could be drawn for any population of rural migrants to the city who are living in poverty. In terms of history and culture, however, the Minnesota Indian might be distinguished from other poverty populations. At this point, it would be useful to review the historical and cultural factors which make the Indian different from others.

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE MINNESOTA CHIPPEWA

In the old days, prior to the reservation era, the Chippewa people were roaming hunters and gatherers. Their life was very harsh. In the wintertime, starvation was never far behind, and only in the summer did the Chippewa find the land an adequate provider. During these short months they departed from their usual tendency to live in small groups, a necessity because of the problems of gathering food, in order to group in comparatively large numbers around the places where the seasonal crops of rice and honey were available.

The Chippewa formed an immediate relationship with the French fur traders who made contact with them in their earlier home region, the area around the Gulf of St. Lawrence. As the fur trade became more and more a part of their tribal life, the Chippewa migrated further westward along the region which is now the northern United Staes and southern Canada. White domination of the land was never far behind this Chippewa population movement. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the fur trade had all but vanished, and the era of the reservations was under way. With the establishment of the Minnesota reservations, Chippewa culture began to undergo crucially important stresses as a result of pressures from the dominant white culture surrounding the reservation compounds.

To a large degree, the reservation system brought an end to the economic, political, and religious basis of Chippewa life, and began the acculturation of most Chippewa to a life-style of rural poverty. In the 100 years since the establishment of the reservations, the use of Chippewa as a viable language has so declined that few families continue its use as a major language of the household. Indeed, only a handful employ it, usually together with English. Many basic cultural and social patterns of the Minnesota Chippewa, such as their nomadic existence and their religious and political organizations, were replaced by white institutions which hastened the erosion of Chippewa culture. But certainly, not all Chippewa cultural forms have been eliminated; important features remain.

With the establishment of a thriving fur trade in the 16th century, Chippewa Indians became bound up in a relationship with white people that, in many basic respects, lasts until today. Traders bartered for the furs of the Chippewa with whisky, guns, traps, tea, sugar, trinkets, and other items. As the demand for furs grew and the available supply inevitably diminished, the Chippewa moved westward with white movements not far behind.

Originally, the development of chiefs among the Chippewa had been stimulated by the requirements of this fur trade and the necessity of dealing with the government of the whites. Traders and government officials alike preferred to deal with entire social groups through as few persons as possible, so that a "leadership" was developed suitable for dealing with outsiders of importance to the Chippewa people. But such "leadership" was very uncommon to the Chippewa indeed, for their leadership patterns were traditionally based upon the temporary takeover of the group by an individual for a specific purpose. After that purpose was no longer present, the "leader" disappeared back into the group. The original emergence of a "permanent leadership" was therefore an artifact of the white economic control and influence, and not the result of any "natural" developments within the Chippewa tribal culture itself.

Over the years, little progress has been made in coping with the needs and problems of Minnesota Chippewa. Typically, these Indian people have been a rural poverty population, living in enclaves surrounded by insensitive and largely exploitative non-Indians. Indian "leadership" has typically been able to do little toward alleviating the problems of reservation Chippewa, in large part because this "leadership" is usually not representative of the interests of the people, and is more directly responsive to the demands of interlocutory roles with white agencies.

Data from the Minneapolis American Indian Employment Center, which we will shortly review, suggest that there is a substantial core of Indian migrants who enter and leave the Minneapolis and St. Paul area each year in response to social and economic pushes and pulls. The exact nature of these migratory paths and the relative strength of various influencing factors are not clearly known, yet the effects of this migration do alter the educational, social, and economic lives of the Minnesota Chippewa. In the past 10 to 20 years, a fairly spectacular increase in the numbers of Chippewa people moving to the Twin Cities has occured. Not all Indians, of course, display this propensity to migrate. Data from house-to-house surveys in the near north and near south sides of Minneapolis, which we will discuss shortly, do suggest that there is a stable Indian population in the Twin Cities which is less likely to change its residence. The difference is strong enough to suggest that the two populations are quite distinctly different.

Before meaningful programs can be designed to meet the need of Minnesota Chippewa Indians, much more must be known about these migratory patterns. The provision of education for Indian children, the employability potentials of Indian adults, the eligibility of Indians for health and welfare services, and the extent to which Indians can expect to demand a part of a predominantly white society for themselves depend in large part upon these mobility dynamics. It is evident that substantial numbers of Indian migrants come from or return to White Earth, Mille Lacs, Red Lake, and Leech Lake reservations. What is not entirely clear is the scope and frequency of these movements, which are of four basic kinds: urban-reservation, reservation-urban, intercity, and intracity. Very little is known about the factors which induce Indians to assume relatively permanent households in either urban or rural settings, either.

There can be no doubt that, as in the past when reservations were created, Minnesota Chippewa are a largely powerless population in a social and cultural climate that is sometimes directly hostile, but more often--

and more devastatingly--crushingly indifferent. The Chippewa were essentially exploited by white traders in the old days for their fur-gathering usefulness, and after the demise of the fur trade, the mutual dependency patterns which were created as a result of this symbiosis were far less easy for Indians to dispense with than whites. Very simply, whites had other places to move within the country for economic and social gain, while the Minnesota Chippewa were confined to economically unviable reservations. Within these enclaves, the patterns of dependency established in the fur trade continued and took on new forms under the special influences of enforced compound living. It is important to repeat that Chippewa dependence upon traders and trappers during the fur era was matched by a dependence of these whites upon the Chippewa themselves. But when the fur trade died, there was nothing to replace it for the Chippewa. There has never been anything of the economic and social magnitude of the fur trade to develop since. Thus, Chippewa Indians in Minnesota became a poor minority group at about the midpoint of the 19th century, and have since remained essentially the same.

AMERICAN INDIAN EMPLOYMENT CENTER APPLICANTS

With the added insight of Chippewa history and culture, we can turn next to a consideration of special Indian populations in Minneapolis.

One such urban Indian population can be examined through data collected from the American Indian Employment Center during the summer of 1967. Data are available for 743 applicants who sought help with employment problems. These data appear in the accompanying tables.

Almost three-quarters of the applicants were males. Roughly half reported that they had telephones and only one-fifth said they had cars, suggesting that this population might be a difficult one with which to maintain contact and might have trouble with transportation to and from work. Men were more likely to have cars (24.0%) than women (13.0%).

It was a fairly young population with 43.2% in the age category 16-22 and 44.1% in the 23-40 range. As a group, the men were somewhat older than the women. Slightly less than 30.0% were married, and 56.4% were single. Twice the proportion of women (12.0%) were separated as were men (6.0%).

There were few self-reported physical defects, but only 29.6% (38.8% of the males) had experienced military service, suggesting the possibility of failure to meet induction standards.

Most of this population (86.4%) reported from one-fourth to full "Indian blood", and 82.6% considered themselves to be affiliated with the Chippewa tribe. White Earth, Red Lake and Leech Lake were the home reservations for 59.7% of this group, yet 51.8% reported birth-places other than Indian reservations in this region (most commonly small, non-reservation towns).

Almost three-quarters (73.4%) reported receiving no BIA assistance, but if aid from the BIA was reported, it was most often relocation aid (12.5%). Men were more likely to have received relocation aid (15.2%) than women (4.7%).

Fully 30.8% had been in the Twin Cities less than 30 days, 51.1% had lived here less than one year and 44.7% had been residents one year or more. The same high degree of mobility is apparent from the length of time reported at present address: 36.1% had lived at their present address less than 30 days, 71.6% said they had lived in their present residence less than one year, and only 20.3% had been residents at the same address for one year or more.

Over half (51.7%) did not know or did not report the cost of their rent and utilities, but if it was reported, it tended to be between $50 and $99 per month (31.7%). Few (15.6%) reported debts, and even fewer (5.1%) reported receiving welfare assistance. Women were more likely to report welfare assistance (10.4%) than men (3.3%).

Virtually none (.3%) were union members. Only 22% were high-school graduates and few reported special skills and training. Over half (53.8%) reported work that is normally not considered to be a skill (_e.g._, washing dishes, driving a car, etc.), but 31.4% reported some previous on-the-job employment experience. Men were more likely to report on-the-job training and experience (33.9%) than were women (24.0%). Over half (56.5%) expressed an interest in further education and training, but the kinds of work interests expressed were mostly entry-level and blue-collar in nature. Almost one-third reported that they harvest wild rice as an additional source of income (and a stimulus to urban-reservation mobility, it might be noted).

Most of these applicants (70.7%) had received one or two referrals from the AIEC, and referrals were most commonly made to commercial stores or plants.

Does the amount of education possessed make a difference for this population? The accompanying tables compare non-high-school graduates (NHSGs) with high-school graduates (HSGs), according to sex classification.*

---

* Note: Those who reported no answer are classified as NHSGs in this report. The total number of subjects for this part of the analysis is 740, since 3 cases were omitted due to technical problems.

Male NHSGs were the least apt to have telephones (44.1%) and female HSGs were the most likely (72.5%). Of all four groups, male HSGs were the most likely to be married (36.7%) and female NHSGs were the least likely (24.8%). Male HSGs were the most likely to report military service (55.8%); only 34.1% of male NHSGs were veterans.

The largest representation of Sioux occurred with male HSGs (14.2%). More than one-fourth (27.5%) of female HSGs were from Leech Lake reservation, and the highest proportion of those reporting a non-reservation birth-place were female HSGs (60.0%). HSGs were more apt to report receiving relocation and other kinds of aid from the BIA than were NHSGs. Female HSGs were the most likely to be relatively long-term Twin Cities residents (52.5% reported one year of residence or more), and they were the most likely to report long residence at their present address (27.5% reported living at their present address one year or more).

HSGs were twice as likely to report having debts as were NHSGs. Male HSGs were the most likely to report on-the-job training and experience (48.3%). No substantial differences appeared between NHSGs and HSGs concerning interest in further education and training. A relatively large proportion of female HSGs (22.5%) reported interest in clerical and office work, while female NHSGs were the most likely to report interest in general factory and warehouse labor (44.3%).

For the most part, then, the differences associated with educational attainment suggest that more education leads to more success (in terms of marital status, military service, receipt of aid, length of residence, indebtedness, and vocational interest). However, these differences are slight. Indeed, it seems that the general impression which these data convey is one of similarity between NHSGs and HSGs.

Although not as complete as one might like, these data portray a special type of urban Indian population. THEY REVEAL A YOUNG, SINGLE, MALE, CHIPPEWA POPULATION WITH RESERVATION TIES WHICH IS HIGHLY MOBILE BETWEEN RESERVATION AND CITY AND WITHIN THE CITY. IT IS A POORLY EDUCATED, NON-UNION POPULATION WITH LITTLE IN THE WAY OF SKILLS TO OFFER A PROSPECTIVE EMPLOYER, AND IT APPEARS TO BE PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN ENTRY-LEVEL OCCUPATIONS. IT SEEMS TO BE A POPULATION WITH MARGINAL INCOME (UNEMPLOYED, NO DEBTS, NO CAR, NO BUDGETED EXPENSES, AND NO WELFARE - PERHAPS DUE TO INABILITY TO MEET ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS). MOREOVER, EDUCATION (AT LEAST IN TERMS OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION) SEEMS TO MAKE LITTLE DIFFERENCE.

INDIAN RESIDENTS IN THE INNER CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS

Another urban Indian population can be viewed from data gathered in a house-to-house survey by a social problems class at the University of Minnesota during fall quarter, 1967. Students obtained responses from 100 Indian residents, 31 men and 69 women. The survey questions asked of these residents differed somewhat from the information obtainable at the AIEC and were, in general, more extensive in nature.

Fify-three percent of those interviewed were heads of households. The accompanying table of responses shows these 100 residents to be persons born on such reservations as White Earth and Red Lake in Minnesota or on reservations in Wisconsin and the Dakotas. Fifty-three percent specified that they had lived for the longest recent time on Minnesota, Wisconsin or Dakota reservations. Ninety-two percent traced their descent to Americans of Indian ancestry. Two-thirds (68%) said they were affiliated with the Chippewa tribe and an additional 10% were Sioux, Winnebago or Menominee. Seventy-seven percent reported one-fouth "Indian blood" or more.

One-third of the total sample said they had not been back to the reservation during the past year, but 47% said they had made from one to "many" trips back during the past year because relatives and friends were there, because of a family event, or because of hunting, fishing, or harvesting wild rice. Sixty-four percent said that harvesting wild rice had not been a useful source of income recently. Forty-three percent had never voted in a reservation election and only 8% reported voting in such an election during the past one to three years.

When asked why they had moved to the Twin Cities, these respondents tended to say they moved here for employment and income purposes or because relatives lived here (58%). Since last coming here, ninety-two percent had lived in the Twin Cities one year or more. Fifty-seven percent had lived at their present Twin City address one year or more. Sixty percent of the total sample reported having a telephone.

These 100 residents were predominantly married persons with children. They tended to be in the age category 23-40. Only 3.2% of the men said that they were unemployed, while 46.4% of the women reported having no job (presumably, many were housewives). The men were employed largely at blue-collar unskilled work, semi-skilled work, and skilled work. If employed, the women held similar kinds of jobs.

Fifty-three percent of the total sample of men and women reported the number of children in their family at between one and four. Fifty-five percent of the respondents had children in primary school, but only 38%

reported children in secondary school.

Two-thirds of the male respondents reported military service. About one-fifth of all respondents listed annual incomes of $2,999 or less (the poverty level), but 36% reported annual incomes between $3,000 and $6,999. Eleven percent had annual incomes of $7,000 or more. Although employed predominantly in blue-collar jobs, slightly more than 60% of the sample said they were not union members. If married, the respondents indicated that their spouse's occupation was unskilled, semi-skilled or skilled. Almost one-fifth of the sample indicated no interest in further training, but if training was desired, it was training in skilled work, clerical work and skilled professional work (50%).

Better than half (52%) were not high-school graduates, while 43% reported that they were. Of those who reported their father's education, only 15% said he had received a high school diploma. When asked about their mother's education, 22% said she had graduated from high-school.

When asked if real leaders of Twin Cities Indian people existed, 46% did not know, 25% answered affirmatively, and 11% said no.

Of course, these data provide only a sketchy description of a resident Indian population in Minneapolis, and they tend to obscure individual differences. HOWEVER, THE GENERAL PICTURE THEY SHOW IS THAT OF A REASONABLY STABLE, MIDDLE-AGED, MARRIED, CHIPPEWA POPULATION WITH CHILDREN. BROADLY SPEAKING, WHILE THESE PEOPLE WERE BORN ON A RESERVATION AND LIVED THERE FOR SOME TIME, AND ALTHOUGH THEY RETURN TO THE RESERVATION OCCASIONALLY FOR SOCIAL AND CULTURAL REASONS, THEY APPEAR TO HAVE MADE THE TRANSITION FROM RESERVATION TO URBAN LIFE. HAVING COME TO THE TWIN CITIES PRIMARILY FOR EMPLOYMENT REASONS, THESE PEOPLE NOW SEEM TO BE STABLE

RESIDENTS HERE. THEY ARE PEOPLE WHO ARE EMPLOYED AT BLUE-COLLAR, NON-UNION WORK, AND THEY EVEN DEMONSTRATE SOME STRIVING FOR UPWARD OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY.

There are some fourteen different characteristics which may be compared for these two populations, and the accompanying tables provide such a comparison.

As was noted previously, about three-fourths of the AIEC applicants were male. The Indian resident population was 69% female, probably due to day-time interviewing schedules.

Indian residents were somewhat more likely to have telephones than were the AIEC applicants. In general, the Indian residents were an older group than the AIEC applicants. The AIEC group had 56.4% single persons, while 62% of the Indian residents were married. There were only minor differences concerning military service and amount of Indian "blood".

Indian residents were somewhat less likely to classify themselves as Chippewa (68%) as were the AIEC applicants (82.2%). Resident Indians were not as apt to be from Red Lake and Leech Lake reservations when compared to AIEC applicants. A higher proportion of Indian residents were born at White Earth (27.0%) than were AIEC applicants (16.2%).

On the crucial characteristics of time spent in the Twin Cities and length of time at present address, the differences were substantial:

Characteristic	AIEC Applicants %	Inner-City Indian Residents %
Time in Twin Cities:		
NA - unknown	4.2	13.0
0 - 11 months	51.1	2.0
One year and more	44.7	85.0
	100.0	100.0
Length of Time at Present Address:		
NA - unknown	8.1	2.0
0 - 11 months	71.6	41.0
One year and more	20.3	57.0
	100.0	100.0

Twenty-seven percent of resident Indians were union members compared to .3% of AIEC applicants. When education is considered, the differences also are sizeable:

Characteristic	AIEC Applicants %	Inner-City Indian Residents %
Education:		
NA - Don't know	2.6	5.0
0 - 11 years	75.5	52.0
12 years or more	22.0	43.0
	100.1	100.0

About half the proportion of Indian residents reported that they harvest wild rice as did AIEC applicants.

COMPARISONS WITH A WHITE POPULATION

It appears, then, that there *is* a stable Indian American population in Minneapolis which is "assimilated" to the point of employment and permanent residence. Indeed, this resident Indian population is remarkably similar to the white population which serves as its neighbor. Based upon a survey of whites in near-north and near-south Minneapolis, the accompanying tables show that the white population differs in few respects from the resident Indian population.

Whites more frequently reported having telephones than Indians, and the white population is an older one (with 24.3% in the 65 and above category compared to 4.0% for Indians). The white population is somewhat less likely to have children and it contains more than twice the proportion of widowed persons reported by the Indian population (both probably a reflection of the age difference between the two populations). The white population has twice the proportion of persons with some college (but no degree) when compared with the Indian population, and it has 5.7%

with college degrees, while the Indian population has none. However, when high school graduates are compared with non-high-school graduates, the two populations are quite similar:

EDUCATION	INDIAN	WHITE
	(Figures are percentages)	
NA	5.0	2.0
0 - 11 years	52.0	52.7
12 years and more	43.0	45.4
	100.0	100.1

The white population contained two-thirds heads of households, while the Indian population contains only slightly more than one-half. More children and somewhat larger families are reported by Indians, as the following table demonstrates:

TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN	INDIAN	WHITE
	(Figures are percentages)	
NA	14.0	27.1
One through four children	53.0	49.9
Five through eight children	33.0	23.0
	100.0	100.0

Less geographical mobility is demonstrated by the white population when length of time lived in the Twin Cities since last coming here, total length of time lived in the Twin Cities, and length of time lived at the present address are considered. In each case, the proportion of the white population with residence of 10 years or more is greater than the Indian proportion. However, when residence is simply defined as less than one year or more than one year, the two populations are more similar:

LENGTH OF TIME LIVED IN TWIN CITIES SINCE LAST COMING HERE	INDIAN	WHITE
	(Figures are percentages)	
NA	2.0	3.0
Less than one year	6.0	5.9
One year and more	92.0	91.2
	100.0	100.1

TOTAL LENGTH OF TIME LIVED IN TWIN CITIES	INDIAN	WHITE
	(Figures are percentages)	
NA	13.0	10.4
Less than one year	2.0	3.5
One year and more	85.0	86.0
	100.0	99.9

LENGTH OF TIME LIVED AT PRESENT ADDRESS	INDIAN	WHITE
	(Figures are percentages)	
NA	2.0	1.1
Less than one year	41.0	24.9
One year and more	57.0	73.9
	100.0	99.9

These tables indicate a difference only when length of time at present address is considered. The somewhat younger Indian population seems to be more mobile within the Twin Cities when compared with the white population.

Whites were more likely to report their father's education and occupation, and they were almost three times more likely to have voted in a public election in the Twin Cities within the past year than were Indians. Almost twice the proportion of whites indicated no interest in further training as was the case with Indians. BUT ON SUCH IMPORTANT DIMENSIONS AS MARITAL STATUS, OCCUPATION, EDUCATION, LENGTH OF TIME IN THE TWIN CITIES AND INCOME, THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO POPULATIONS APPEAR TO BE SLIGHT.

POPULATION NEEDS FOR AGENCY SERVICE AND ASSISTANCE

The distinctions drawn here between a population of established, resident Indians and a population of mobile, recently-arrived, job-seeking Indians has implications for the structure of agency services and assistance.

The apparent reluctance of Indians to participate in established insitutions designed to ameliorate social problems is a major barrier. Although some attempts already have been made locally, it may be that the avenue of intensified outreach with qualified Indian social workers can be profitably used, especially in dealing with the resident Indian population. To be effective on a broad scale, however, this approach would necessitate the identification and training of Indian social workers, who appear to be in short supply. One possible solution to this difficulty might be to import qualified Indians from other regions in the country.

Another implication (and one which is not necessarily mutually exclusive) would be to channel more resources into existing Indian centers. As this report has noted, the Minneapolis American Indian Employment Center lacked adequate and stable funding. This condition made it difficult to attract and retain competent staff, both Indian and non-Indian. Certainly the magnitude of problems faced by urban Indians demands the highest quality of professional service, and it is difficult to see how capable staff members can be retained without public financial commitment to an Indian employment center. It may be that an effective Indian center is the only viable way in which to involve Indians in the solution of common problems. Certainly, it can be said that this solution has not been adequately tested. Until it is tested with adequate funding and competent Indian and white professionals, it would be premature to discard this approach.

An effective Indian center could fulfill many needs. It could provide pre-employment work orientation for those with little in the way of formal employment qualifications, stressing the techniques of getting and holding a job. It could facilitate job placement, either by operating its own employment service, or by cooperating with state and/or private employment agencies. It could, in a highly personalized way, see that Indians receive help from appropriate agencies. It could be a center for the location of temporary and permanent housing for Indians. It could monitor the needs of its special population for education, then structure courses or training sessions to fit these unique needs, working in cooperation with educational institutions in this area. It could provide a social and recreational center for both resident Indians and migrant Indians.

Another possibility would be to establish a series of reservation-urban contact points in such a manner that Indians leaving the reservation for the city could be adequately prepared for the problems they would face in an urban environment. Anticipation of their arrival would make it possible to arrange necessary agency assistance and, perhaps, to alert local Indians at the Indian center so that ties of friendship could be more quickly established.

Perhaps the most difficult problem to solve will be that of creating a positive image of the Indian American. Such an image would be of immense value to the Indian community, particularly insofar as the education and socialization of Indian children are concerned. It may be that, in an era in which "equal opportunity" and non-discrimination are stressed, society has learned to avoid issues with any racial overtones. This tendency carries with it the sacrifice of positive attributes of ethnic groups, which can be a source of pride and motivation for minority group members. Special Head Start and Upward Bound programs for Indian children would benefit greatly from a positive Indian American image. Much can be done to dramatize the achievements and accomplishments of Indian Americans. Probably, Indians (and agency personnel, too) should be knowledgable about Indian culture, history and affairs. But, ultimately, the construction and maintenance of an image of the Indian as a "successful" being will depend largely on what the Indian community itself does. The vigor of such organizations as Oklahomans for Indian Opportunity demonstrates that Indians can unite for positive group change.

Attitudes of Employment and Other Agency Personnel Toward Indians

Personnel in six types of Minneapolis agencies were asked for their impressions of Indian adults and youth living in the Twin Cities. Their ratings were obtained by using a "semantic differential" questionnaire employing twenty-six paired adjectives. A scoring system indicated the strength and direction of responses for each pair of adjectives. The types of agencies surveyed and the number of respondents who mailed a useable questionnaire are as follows:

Agency Type	Number of Respondents
Employment	43
Health	32
Miscellaneous (Park, Library, United Fund)	88
Education	133
Welfare	170
Law and Corrections	230
	696

The scales provided to measure the responses to the paired adjectives provided seven positions for rating between the two words. An example, not included among the twenty-six pairs:

Good____:____:____:____:____:____:____Bad

Response percentages for each of the seven positions for each pair of adjectives were computed, then the middle (or fourth) position was discarded. Percentages for the three positions adjacent to each adjective were totaled, and the smaller total percentage was subtracted from the larger total percentage. The resulting balance (or loading) was categorized into one of the following classes for interpretive purposes: 0 - 10%, not significant; 10 - 20%, slightly significant; 20 - 40%, significant; 40%, very significant.

The pairs of adjectives used were:

trustworthy - untrustworthy
neat - messy
reliable - unreliable
happy - sad
interested - bored
honest - dishonest
active - passive
hard working - lazy
stupid - intelligent
religious - irreligious
traditionalistic - modern
ambitious - unambitious
emotional - rational
wise - unwise
unfriendly - friendly
sincere - insincere
kind - cruel
polite - impolite
cowardly - brave
dependable - undependable
sociable - unsociable
rude - courteous
likeable - unlikeable
knowledgeable - ignorant
peace-loving - belligerent
talkative - quiet

Responses from all agencies may be tabularized as follows:

Agency	N	Youth	Adults
Employment	43	Positive (14:7)	Negative (14:8)
Health	32	Neutral (10:10)	Negative (12:7)
Miscellaneous	88	Positive (12:9)	Neutral-Negative (10:9)
Education	133	Positive (11:7)	Neutral-Negative (11:10)
Welfare	170	Positive (15:8)	Neutral (11:11)
Law and Corrections	230	Positive (13:9)	Negative (15:8)

These responses indicate that the agency person's view of the young Indian in the Twin Cities was predominately positive. Only respondents from health agencies made less than a favorable judgement on balance, and that judgment was neutral. Descriptive adjectives attached to Twin Cities Indian youth by respondents from all six agency categories were: untrustworthy, brave, unreliable, sad, honest, knowledgeable, interested, ambitious and unwise. Consensus about descriptive adjectives for five of the six agency groups studied centered around the terms insincere, friendly, intelligent, cruel, active, undependable, polite and peace-loving. There was consensus among four of the six agency groups about the appropriateness of the terms neat, modern, and religious. Three of the six agency groups described young Indians as quiet and likeable.

Second, the prevailing agency view of the Indian adult in the Twin Cities tended to be negative, although one agency (welfare) produced a neutral rating, and two others (education and miscellaneous) were only slightly negative. Descriptive adjectives deemed appropriate for Twin Cities adult Indians by respondents from all six agency categories were: ignorant, hard-working, cruel, sincere, peace-loving, dependable and quiet. Agreement about descriptive terms for five of the six agency groups studied included stupid, unsociable, rational, unlikeable, dishonest, polite, unreliable and bored. There was consensus among four of the six agency groups about the appropriateness of the terms irreligious, traditionalistic, sad, active, cowardly, untrustworthy and courteous. Three of the six agency groups described adult Indians as friendly and ambitious.

From these data, it can be seen that with law and corrections personnel, employment personnel rated Indian adults lowest when compared with the other four agency categories. The effects of these views upon the Indian person seeking employment are, of course, not ascertainable from these data, but it is apparent that Minneapolis employment personnel are not particularly enthusiastic about the Indian adults with whom they come into contact. It is probable that these attitudes do negatively affect the style and impact of job counselling and other forms of professional-client interaction.

RESPONSES OF MINNEAPOLIS AGENCY PERSONNEL REGARDING INDIANS

In the spring of 1967, fifty members of the Minneapolis League of Women Voters interviewed 223 persons in Minneapolis who worked directly with American Indians. These data were not analyzed in the LWV-TCCP study released in the spring of 1967. Questions asked during the interviews were exactly as stated in the tables which follow. The answers, which were free responses, were later grouped into common categories of response. In those instances where several answers were given in response to a question, only one was recorded. The coding and processing of these questionnaires was done by the Training Center for Community Programs at the University of Minnesota.

The interviewers worked cooperatively with the League committee preparing material for this study, although committee members were in contact with many persons other than those who were interviewed. In some cases, the policies and views expressed by top staff officials were opinions which differed from those expressed in interviews with the staff members of their agencies. Those interviewed were usually selected at the recommendation of their superiors. The following agencies were involved:

1. Employment. Carried out mainly at the Minnesota State Employment Service, Bureau of Indian Affairs Employment Assistance Branch, the American Indian Employment and Guidance Center, and private employment agencies.
2. Education. Nearly all with the Minneapolis Public School System, with classroom teachers, counselors and administrators.
3. Health. Mainly done at the Minneapolis Health Department, Hennepin County General Hospital, and with visiting nurses.
4. Justice. Carried out mostly with Minneapolis policemen, probation officers, county home schools, juvenile centers, and Minneapolis Work House personnel.

5. Public Welfare. Accomplished almost entirely at the Hennepin County Welfare Department and the Minneapolis Division of Public Relief.
6. Miscellaneous. Included six interviews in the area of housing and the remainder mainly with employees of community agencies such as settlement houses, the Minneapolis Public Library, representatives of religious organizations and Volunteers in Service to America.

We are going to analyze the responses of agency personnel who were interviewed by League interviewers. We regard these data as highly important, as least as important as data from Indians themselves and from putative "experts". For anyone closely concerned with the complexity of social events, it becomes very difficult indeed to define clearly what is "truth" from what is "conjecture" or "untruth". We regard these agency personnel opinions as expressions of one of many kinds of realities which American Indians are concerned with, and which concern them. Therefore, our attempt here is not to pinpoint "reality," but to narrow down our definition of reality to 223 agency personnel whose opinions of Indian people are, we feel, extremely important to the welfare of Indians in Minneapolis. The larger reality of Indian urban living in Minneapolis is, of course, dependent upon several smaller realities combining to form a larger picture that very few are able to grasp comprehensively at this time.

"What is your position within the agency?"

A quick glance at the table for the first question in the interview schedule indicates that, for the most part, interviewers dealt with highly-placed managerial or professional people working in the office of their agency, and at or near the top of their organization. With the exception of the Justice category, a very small percentage (in some case none) of these professional persons actually worked out in the community.

	Justice	Education	Employment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
Number of interviews	43	62	24	24	29	41
1) "What is your position within the agency?"						
No answer	0.0%	4.8%	0.0%	0.0%	3.5%	0.0%
Volunteer	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	14.6
Paid aide, preprofessional	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2	6.9	0.0
Clerical	2.3	0.0	8.3	12.5	0.0	2.4
Administrator	2.3	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	2.4
Manager or professional usually operating in the office	67.4	66.1	62.5	45.8	62.1	39.0
Manager or professional usually operating out in the community	23.3	0.0	8.3	0.0	3.5	2.4
Manager or professional (not specified)	4.7	0.0	0.0	8.3	6.9	0.0
At top or near top of organization	0.0	29.0	20.8	12.5	17.2	39.0
2) "Are you yourself Indian?"						
No answer	0.0	16.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No	100.0	84.0	75.0	87.5	96.5	90.2
Yes	0.0	0.0	20.8	12.5	3.5	9.8
Other	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0

"Are you yourself Indian?"

A tiny percentage of the 223 persons interviewed by League members were actually Indian agency personnel. This was especially true in the Justice area, and in the Public Welfare area. When these low percentages of Indian agency personnel are seen in the light of a low outreach personnel arm, typical of most of the agencies in the study, the question of adequate service for Indian people in Minneapolis arises. It is well known that Indian people do not readily seek out the services of service agenices, either in the reservation or the urban settings. Therefore, it seems incumbent upon agencies with a small outreach service and low numbers of Indian personnel to consider the adverse effects of this combination upon effective services to Indian people. BECAUSE INDIANS WILL NOT AGGRESSIVELY SEEK OUT HELPING SERVICES, THESE SERVICES MUST BE BROUGHT TO INDIANS, PREFERABLY THROUGH INDIAN AGENCY PERSONNEL.

"Of the persons you work with, about how many are American Indians?"

"Why do Indians come to you?"

The education, employment, and miscellaneous categories show a much higher involvement with Indian people than do the remaining agencies. But even those that show a comparatively low involvement with Indians (Health is the lowest category of all) show that up to a quarter of their service population has a strong likelihood of being Indian. The data show that Indians come to involvement with service agencies for essentially two reasons: first, as in the case of the Employment, Health, Public Welfare and Miscellaneous categories, they are seen to need help from the standpoint of the specific services of the agencies themselves. Secondly, they tend to be referred. (The exception is in the case of the Miscellaneous category, where Indians are seen to "want" to become involved with the agencies.) Unlike teachers and other school personnel, who see

Indians because the Indians largely have no choice in the matter - at least until the end of the compulsory schooling period - it would appear that whatever services are being offered by these agencies is of importance to Indian people. Since the gamut of agencies chosen for the study represents some of the most important agencies to a newly-arrived, economically-beset population, it behooves these agencies to develop the most effective contact, referral, and service techniques possible to make the first and most important agency contacts work out to the best possible advantage of Indian people.

"What problems do they seem to have?"

"How do you deal with these problems?"

Justice personnel and Public Welfare personnel agreed that, from their standpoint, the most important problems of Indian people are the problems of poverty and domestic problems. Health and Public Welfare personnel tended to place health problems at the forefront of Indian difficulties, while Education, Employment, and Miscellaneous category personnel agreed that educational and employment problems constitute the chief problems of Indians. Therefore, poverty, domestic, health, and education and employment problems are seen overwhelmingly as the chief difficulties of Indian people living in center city Minneapolis. It is most interesting that, typically, agencies concerned with a particular service to Indian people have a tendency to point out the major problem of Indians as somehow related to the meliorative services of that agency itself! If these data are indicative of real agency points of view, THEN THE AGENCIES MUST REALIZE THAT BY INDICTING INDIANS FOR FAILURES WHEN THESE FAILURES OR PROBLEMS ARE THE PROVINCE OF THE AGENCY ITSELF TO SOLVE, ADDS UP TO AN INDICTMENT OF THE QUALITY, RELEVANCE, AND APPLICATION OF THOSE AGENCY SERVICES THEMSELVES. To some degree, it is the same old story: If the services don't work, the fault must lie in the consumer. This has never been a viable way to approach a

	Justice	Education	Employment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
3) "About how many persons do you work with in an average day?"						
No answer	2.3%	4.8%	8.3%	4.2%	3.5%	2.4
5 or less	9.3	0.0	16.7	0.0	20.7	4.9
6 to 10	9.3	3.2	8.3	12.5	24.1	7.3
11 to 25	44.2	24.1	29.2	33.3	34.5	12.2
26 to 50	16.3	32.2	12.5	16.7	6.9	31.7
51 to 100	13.9	6.4	8.3	8.3	3.5	2.4
101 or more	4.7	17.7	4.2	12.5	0.0	21.9
Very indefinite, it varies	0.0	8.0	12.5	12.5	3.5	2.4
Don't know	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	3.5	9.8
Not applicable	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.9
4) "Of the persons you work with, about how many are American Indians?"						
No answer	4.7	9.7	4.2	0.0	3.5	7.3
Hard or impossible to say	0.0	6.5	0.0	12.5	13.8	0.0
None, or virtually none	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	20.7	2.4
Very few	9.3	16.1	12.5	8.3	13.8	12.2
Less than 5%	30.2	19.3	12.5	62.5	6.9	24.4
6 to 10%	23.3	14.5	16.7	12.5	17.2	9.8
11 to 25%	23.3	11.3	12.5	0.0	20.7	12.2
25% and above	9.3	0.0	8.3	4.2	3.5	12.2
All, or virtually all	0.0	17.7	33.3	0.0	0.0	19.5

	Justice	Education	Employment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
5) "Why do Indians come to you?"						
No answer	4.7%	6.7%	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Need help (general)	7.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	2.4
Need help (specifically related to services of agency)	32.5	22.6	91.7	91.7	82.8	58.5
Required to, referral, etc.	53.5	4.8	0.0	4.2	6.9	0.0
Want to	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	21.9
"They don't come to me, I go to them"	0.0	0.0	4.2	4.2	0.0	4.9
"I don't see any"	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	3.5	0.0
They don't, or seldom do	2.3	4.8	0.0	0.0	3.5	2.4
For education and related services	0.0	59.7	4.2	0.0	0.0	7.3
Not applicable	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4
6) "What problems do they seem to have?"						
No answer	2.3	9.7	0.0	0.0	3.5	4.9
Don't know, or no different from others	0.0	9.7	0.0	12.5	3.5	19.5
Problems of cultural adjustment	7.0	8.0	8.3	0.0	6.9	9.8
Problems of city adjustment	4.7	3.2	12.5	4.2	3.5	4.9
Problems of poverty; domestic problems	32.6	21.0	4.2	25.0	31.0	19.5

	Justice	Education	Employment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
6) (continued)						
Health problems	0.0%	4.8%	4.2%	29.2%	31.0%	2.4%
Drinking problems	25.6	0.0	16.7	16.7	3.5	7.3
Don't communicate; passive, shy	9.3	11.3	12.5	4.2	0.0	2.4
Educational and unemployment problems	18.6	29.0	33.3	8.3	17.2	24.4
Lack of aggressiveness, initiative, identity, leadership	0.0	3.2	8.3	0.0	0.0	4.9
7) "How do you deal with these problems?"						
No answer	4.7	16.1	4.2	16.7	6.9	9.8
"I don't" (or can't)	4.7	1.6	12.5	0.0	3.5	7.3
"I don't, but refer them to others"	13.9	3.2	0.0	4.2	0.0	9.8
Give temporary, perhaps material help	18.6	1.6	0.0	4.2	3.5	4.9
Give the services this agency offers, including referral in some cases	44.2	35.5	50.0	50.0	55.2	41.5
Try to give special help	4.7	35.5	29.2	12.5	24.1	24.4
Same as we deal with problems of others	9.3	6.5	4.2	12.5	6.9	2.4

consumer-supplier relationship, and it is not a viable way to approach the question of how to make agency services for Indian people more functional.

"*How do you deal with these problems?*"

As the data show, most agency personnel tend to answer this question by indicating that giving the standard services of the agency or referring the Indian person are the two basic ways of meeting Indian needs. Education personnel and, to a lesser degree, Public Welfare and Miscellaneous personnel also indicate that their agencies are oriented to giving some special help, although the question of the usefulness of the special assistance remains. The problem of providing "special" (*i.e.*, relevant) help is complicated for most agencies by the absence of Indian personnel on their staffs, and the absence of training programs which would orient Indian and especially non-Indian personnel to the special needs of Indians and how to deal with them. However, *a major problem in dealing with Indian people through agencies is the absence of a sound body of perspectives and techniques by which to make agency services adaptable and relevant*. We will discuss this matter a few pages on.

"*Generally speaking, do the Indians you see have special problems different from those of non-Indians you see?*"

As the tabularized data show, many responses came from agency personnel when this question was asked. On the whole, these data may be summarized as follows: agency personnel typically are highly understanding of the cross-cultural problems of Indians in adapting to the city environment. This essentially cognitive understanding is adequately demonstrated by the frequency of such responses as those which-in one way or another-deal with the confusion, ignorance, and resulting day-to-day difficulties of a rural population suddenly confronted with the complexities of an urban setting. However, close attention

8) "Generally speaking, do the Indians you see have special problems different from those of non-Indians you see?"

	Justice	Education	Employment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
No answer	0.0%	6.5%	4.2%	4.2%	0.0%	2.4%
No, or don't know	9.3	11.3	4.2	16.7	13.8	29.3
Same as any other in poverty group	7.0	24.2	0.0	8.3	3.5	7.3
Don't know "way around" or where resources are	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Less communication ("They don't understand me" or vice versa)	18.6	3.2	4.2	8.3	6.9	2.4
Less money, seem poorer	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.9	2.4
Are more mobile, come and go	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't keep appointments, unreliable, school truancy, drop out	0.0	3.2	4.2	8.3	0.0	0.0
Are more hostile, resentful, angry toward whites (sometimes due to white prejudice)	0.0	0.0	4.2	4.2	3.5	7.3
Have more drinking problems	11.6	0.0	16.7	12.5	6.9	2.4
Passive; unaggressive; apathetic; little self confidence, self-concept, or motivation	9.3	11.3	29.2	4.2	6.9	7.3
Less oriented to city life, transition from rural to urban	4.7	4.8	16.7	4.2	24.1	9.8

	Justice	Education	Employment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
8) (continued)						
Transition from a different culture, values	16.3%	20.9%	0.0%	0.0%	10.3%	14.6%
More serious personal problems - health, employment, broken homes, poor housing	16.3	4.8	0.0	8.3	10.3	7.3
Less well educated	0.0	0.0	8.3	8.3	6.9	4.9
Lack time consciousness	2.3	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Less trusting	4.7	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.0	2.4
Are underachievers	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Lack residency, transportation, telephones	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0
9) "If an Indian is new to the city, what problems of adjustment do you think he faces?"						
No answer	13.9	14.5	4.2	0.0	6.9	7.3
Crowded and poor housing	7.0	6.5	0.0	0.0	10.3	2.4
Can't find a job	2.3	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0
Orientation to city and/or its institutions, feelings of isolation and insecurity	16.3	19.4	12.5	12.5	6.9	21.9
"They don't integrate"	7.0	4.8	4.2	0.0	3.5	0.0

should be paid to the substantial percentages of Education, Health, Welfare, and Miscellaneous agency personnel who tend to view Indian problems as no different from those of non-Indians in their experience, or who are confused about the differences, if any. These rather substantial percentages aside, it is probably more important that THE MAJORITY OF AGENCY PERSONNEL INTERVIEWED DO SEE THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF INDIANS AS DIFFERENT FROM NON-INDIANS, AND THEREBY INDICATE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SENSITIVITY TRAINING, THEIR OWN EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS, AND OTHER EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING INPUTS DESIGNED TO ENHANCE THE SOPHISTICATION OF SERVICE PERSONNEL REGARDING CULTURALLY DIFFERENT PEOPLES. This is not to say that major applications problems do not remain, however, as we know they do. What the data do seem to show is that the combined training and educational activities which pertain to the plight of urban poverty-level peoples has made a distinct impact upon these agency personnel. Therefore, THE STAGE SEEMS SET FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF MAJOR AGENCY POLICY AND PERSONNEL ADDITIONS WHICH WOULD BUILD UPON THIS SOPHISTICATED CROSS-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING, AND ULTIMATELY RESULT IN BETTER AGENCY SERVICES TO MINNEAPOLIS INDIAN PEOPLE.

"If an Indian is new to the city, what problems of adjustment do you think he faces?"

The overwhelming response of agency personnel to this question was that Minneapolis Indians face employment, education, or housing difficulties in a paramount way. The second most mentioned difficulty was orientation to the city and/or its institutions- feelings of isolation and insecurity. Thirdly, agency personnel felt that Indian persons could not find the resources to help themselves. Finally, about 14% of the Public Welfare personnel interviewed felt that Indian adjustment problems ot the city were about the same as others in the poverty groups. These data then seem to support previous agency personnel feelings that, substantially, the problems of Minneapolis Indians are strongly linked to securing a decent place to live, an adequately-paying full-time job, and appropriate levels of quality education for their children and themselves. Surprisingly, the answer to this question evoked far fewer tendencies of the agency respondents to cite cross-cultural problems as the reasons for Indian difficulties in the city. But perhaps this is not so surprising after all, for many of us move to another level of reasoning and another set of facts when confronted with questions of such complexity as the cross-cultural problems of Indians and Whites. It is one thing to adequately and accurately note some of the dimensions of the cross-cultural difficulties between Indians and Whites in the urban environment, *but quite another thing to deal with those cross-cultural characteristics themselves*. Instead, we all tend to find ourselves falling back upon such fairly global human needs as employment, education and housing when these deficiencies in a particular population are but reflections of deeper cultural problems. Some hint of a continuing cross-cultural reflection does, however, remain: although the percentages vary, up to one-third of the agency personnel continued to cite culturally-related problems as the major sources of Indian adjustment difficulties in the urban environment.

"*Are you, in your work, prepared to help him with his adjustment?*"

"*What difficulties do you have in helping him?*"

Between approximately one-third and two-thirds of the agency personnel interviewed felt they were prepared to help Minneapolis Indians in their problems of adjustment. Public Welfare and Miscellaneous category agency personnel in about one-fifth of the cases also answered "yes" to this question but qualified their ability or willingness to help to some degree. Justice, Education, Employment and Health personnel, on the other hand, answered a categoric "no" or "no answer" to the question in an alarming number of cases.

	Justice	Education	Employment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
9) (continued)						
Can't find resources to help them	0.0%	3.2%	20.8%	16.7%	3.5%	7.3%
Has to learn how to handle money	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4
Has to learn transportation system	0.0	0.0	12.5	4.2	3.5	4.9
Time concept	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.3
Culture conflict, different values (motivation)	11.6	4.8	4.2	12.5	6.9	9.8
Has to become more aggressive	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.9
Hard to raise children in the city	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4
Associate with "bad" Indians, fall in with wrong crowd	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Kinship system - too generous (but not necessarily a negative condition)	2.3	0.0	0.0	4.2	3.5	0.0
Same as others in poverty group	2.3	0.0	8.3	8.3	13.7	0.0
Employment, education or housing difficulties	34.9	41.9	33.3	37.5	41.3	29.3
10) "Are you, in your work, prepared to help him with his adjustment?"						
No answer	18.6	9.7	4.2	0.0	3.5	4.9
No	23.3	25.8	20.8	29.2	10.3	2.4
Yes	30.2	51.6	58.3	41.7	55.2	60.9

	Justice	Education	Employ-ment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
10) (continued)						
Yes, but only to a degree	11.6%	9.7%	4.2%	12.5%	20.7%	17.1%
Usually refer	4.6	0.0	4.2	4.2	3.5	4.9
Usually no, occasionally yes	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Not applicable	7.0	1.6	8.3	4.2	0.0	2.4
"Not much we can do"	2.3	1.6	0.0	8.3	6.9	4.9
11) "What difficulties do you have in helping him?"						
No answer, or none	37.2	38.7	37.5	29.2	24.1	31.7
Communication problems (culture, language)	34.9	30.7	25.0	33.3	27.6	31.7
Communication problems (Indian mobility, lack of telephones, etc.)	0.0	0.0	4.2	12.5	0.0	2.4
Understaffed	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	6.9	9.8
Handicapped by lack of outreach activities	0.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	3.5	9.8
"Can't help those who won't help themselves"	2.3	0.0	12.5	0.0	3.5	0.0
"I can't help getting discouraged"	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	4.9
Indians don't keep appointments	2.3	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0

	Justice	Education	Employment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
11) (continued)						
Hampered by institutional or professional restrictions and/or limitations	16.3%	19.4%	16.7	20.8%	27.6%	9.8%
The same as in helping other persons	7.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	6.9	0.0
12) "Do you encourage Indians to return to reservations for services or to live?"						
No answer	4.6	17.7	0.0	0.0	6.9	0.0
Yes	9.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	9.8
No	70.0	82.3	95.8	75.0	58.6	80.5
Very seldom	9.3	0.0	4.2	16.7	27.6	4.9
No opportunity to, doesn't apply	4.6	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.0	2.4
Neither encourage nor discourage	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	2.4
13) "Why (do you encourage or discourage Indians about returning to reservations)?"						
No answer	51.2	72.3	45.8	41.7	27.6	51.2
"They can get help there"	4.6	1.6	0.0	4.2	0.0	2.4
"They can't get help there", there's nothing for them there, better services here	7.0	6.5	25.0	12.5	13.8	12.2

By far, Justice, and Health and Welfare personnel were the most pessimistic about their ability or willingness to help Indian people with their adjustment problems to the city. Indeed, Health and Public Welfare personnel were in 8.3 and 6.9 percents of the cases respectively able to admit that there is "not much we can do" about these problems. Education and Employment personnel were also pessimistic, although their pessimism showed up as a "no" response rather than a "not much we can do" response. OVERALL, THESE RESPONSES INDICATE A SENSE OF HELPLESSNESS IN MOST AGENCIES, WHERE A SUBSTANTIAL PROPORTION OF AGENCY PERSONNEL INTERVIEWED INDICATE IN SOME WAY THEIR LACK OF PREPARATION TO HELP INDIAN PEOPLE WITH URBAN ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS.

The next question may help to indicate why: up to one-fifth of the personnel interviewed feel that they are hampered by institutional or professional restrictions and/or limitations in their efforts to help urban Indian people. They cite communications problems relating to culture and language as major difficulties in addition to institutional problems. Again, THESE DATA TEND TO SHOW THAT ON A CONCEPTUAL LEVEL MANY AGENCY PERSONNEL ARE COMPARATIVELY SOPHISTICATED IN THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF THE CULTURAL PROBLEMS RELATED TO URBAN INDIAN ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS. BUT THE ADDED DIMENSION OF INSTITUTIONAL RESTRICTIONS AND INFLEXIBILITY ALSO APPEARS, AND SUGGESTS ITSELF AS AN AREA THAT SHOULD BE FURTHER INVESTIGATED AND EVALUATED. It is probable that the mere addition of Indian personnel and outreach functions will not be sufficient to deal with the problems of institutional responsiveness indicated by these answers. In the final chapter of this report, we will suggest the meanings and implications of these and other findings for agencies serving Indian people, and attempt to suggest some possible institutional responses to a formidable cross-cultural mission.

"Do you encourage Indians to return to reservations for services or to live?"

"Why (Do you encourage or discourage Indians about returning to reservations)?"

Most agency personnel do not encourage Indians to return to reservations for services or to live. Yet, the percentages vary widely, all the way from 58.6% for Public Welfare personnel to 95.8% for employment personnel. PUBLIC WELFARE PERSONNEL, TOGETHER WITH JUSTICE AND MISCELLANEOUS PERSONNEL, INDICATE THE STRONGEST TENDENCIES TO ENCOURAGE INDIANS TO RETURN TO RESERVATIONS FOR SERVICES OR TO LIVE - EVEN THOUGH THAT ENCOURAGEMENT MAY OCCUR INFREQUENTLY. Further investigation of these tendencies is called for, but some speculations can be made: Welfare personnel are probably aware of the (presumably) more adequate welfare services on the reservation; and Justice personnel are probably more likely to encourage a return to the reservation for reasons relating to urban adjustment problems that bring Indians into contact with law enforcement agencies. Similarly, some settlement house personnel and others contained in the Miscellaneous category may also suggest a return to the reservation for reasons related to urban adjustment, as well as to presumably enhanced opportunities to receive adequate health and welfare services.

The data gathered under the second question indicate that services are indeed a major "reason" for the suggestion to return to the reservation. For those who do not encourage Indians to return to reservations, the major reasons vary, but up to 25% of the agency personnel feel that there is nothing available for Indians on the reservation, that they can't get help there, and that there are better services available in the cities. Some agency personnel admit that it never occurred to them to suggest that Indians return to the reservation, or that they had never had the opportunity to do so. A few more - some 12% of the Health personnel - indicate that returning to the reservation is not a good idea because of the quality of the reservation environment. ALL IN ALL, IT APPEARS THAT A MINORITY OF AGENCY PERSONNEL HAVE ADVISED INDIANS TO RETURN TO RESERVATIONS FOR SERVICES OR TO LIVE. IT APPEARS THAT THOSE WHO DO OFFER SUCH ADVICE DO SO WITH A STRONG INTEREST IN THE PRESUMABLY HIGHER QUALITY OF SERVICES AVAILABLE TO INDIANS IN THE RESERVATION SETTING, AND NOT BECAUSE OF ANY IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL, OR RACIAL REASONS RELATED TO THE INTRINSIC QUALITIES OF INDIAN PEOPLE THEMSELVES. INDEED, IT MAY BE SAID THAT SOME AGENCY PERSONNEL ARE ACTUALLY UNDERSCORING THE SERVICE DEFICIENCIES OF THEIR OWN OR OTHER AGENCIES BY ADVISING INDIAN PERSONNEL TO RETURN TO THE RESERVATION RATHER THAN REMAIN IN THE CITY, WHERE ADEQUATE SERVICES ARE APPARENTLY NOT AVAILABLE. This apparent tendency deserves further consideration, and it will be dealt with in the remaining chapter.

"How long have you worked with Indians?"

"Do you feel you are as successful in your dealings with Indians as with non-Indians?"

Most agency personnel - the exceptions are the Justice and Education categories - have worked with Indians for from one to five years. Justice personnel indicate in 42% of the cases having worked with Indians from five to ten years, and Education personnel in 32% of the cases for over ten years. Overall, Justice and Public Welfare personnel had worked with Indian people the longest: about 90% of each type of agency personnel had worked with Indian people for a period from one year to over ten years. But from 68% to 87% of the other categories of personnel had also worked with Indian people for the same period of time. The Employment, Miscellaneous, and Education categories

	Justice	Education	Employment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
13) (continued)						
They have a right to be here, free to choose	0.0%	0.0%	4.2%	8.3%	17.2%	4.9%
A special situation, or temporary	23.2	3.2	8.3	8.3	34.5	17.1
"It never occurred to me to do it"	7.0	1.6	0.0	4.2	0.0	4.9
Never had the opportunity to do so	4.6	9.7	12.5	8.3	6.9	4.9
Not a good environment	2.3	4.8	4.2	12.5	0.0	2.4
14) "How long have you worked with Indians?"						
No answer	0.0	8.1	0.0	4.2	0.0	2.4
Less than 6 months	2.3	6.5	8.3	4.2	3.5	12.2
7 months to one year	4.6	3.2	20.8	4.2	6.9	4.9
Over 1 year to 5 years	32.6	21.0	37.5	45.8	55.2	34.2
Over 5 years to 10 years	41.9	25.8	12.5	25.0	3.5	21.9
Over 10 years	18.6	32.3	16.7	16.7	31.0	17.1
Always lived among them	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4
Doesn't apply	0.0	1.6	4.2	0.0	0.0	4.9

had worked with Indian people somewhat less time than the other personnel, with *29% of Employment personnel having worked with Indians for a period of one year or less*, and *17% of Miscellaneous personnel having worked with Indians for a period of time from one year to less than six months*. *But data from the second question showed that JUSTICE PERSONNEL, WHO HAVE A LONG WORKING EXPERIENCE WITH INDIANS, FEEL THAT THEY ARE NOT AS SUCCESSFUL IN HALF THE CASES IN THEIR DEALINGS WITH INDIANS AS COMPARED WITH NON-INDIANS, AND FROM ONE-FIFTH TO ONE-THIRD OF THE REMAINING AGENCY PERSONNEL FEEL THE SAME*. Public Welfare people feel that they are as successful in dealing with Indians as non-Indians in about 59% of the cases as do Employment personnel (58%). Health and Miscellaneous personnel feel that they have been successful in about 42% of the cases respectively, and Education personnel feel that they have been successful in about 39% of the cases. It is interesting that, next to Justice personnel, Education personnel feel least successful in their dealings with Indians as compared with non-Indians. But the other percentages tend to follow closely.

"*Have you taken any special training to help you understand Indian people?*"

The overwhelming response to this question was "no". Percentages ranging from 35.5 to 70.8 of the agency respondents indicated that no special training had been received to help agency personnel understand Indian people. Education personnel in 35.5% of the cases had some kind of special training to help them understand Indian people, but far lower percentages were the rule, with as low as 3.5% of Public Welfare personnel having had such training. Non-specific types of training which had a human relations or intercultural quality were taken by some personnel, *i.e.*, those who had attended workshops, conferences, and the like, or those who had had some training in minority problems or human relations. *NEVERTHELESS, THE COMPARATIVE ABSENCE OF SPECIFIC INDIAN-RELATED*

	Justice	Education	Employment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
15) "Have you taken any special training to help you understand Indian people?"						
No answer	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.2%	0.0%	2.4%
Yes	13.9	35.5	12.5	16.7	3.5	12.2
No	58.1	35.5	70.8	62.5	75.9	48.8
Social work training	13.9	11.3	8.3	8.3	0.0	7.3
No, but training in minority problems or human relations	4.7	3.2	0.0	0.0	6.9	0.0
No, but would like some training	4.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Doesn't apply	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0	2.4
No, but have done outside reading	2.3	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4
Have attended workshops, conferences, etc.	2.3	9.7	4.2	8.3	13.8	24.4
16) "Do you feel you are as successful in your dealings with Indians as with non-Indians?"						
No answer	7.0	3.2	0.0	0.0	3.5	7.3
Yes	21.0	38.7	58.3	41.7	58.6	41.5
Yes, but . . (qualified yes)	7.0	9.7	8.3	12.5	3.5	0.0
No	21.0	21.0	12.5	25.0	13.8	12.2
No, but . . (qualified no)	27.9	9.7	8.3	8.3	17.2	14.6

	Justice	Education	Employment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
16) (continued)						
Doesn't apply or doesn't work with Indians directly	0.0%	0.0%	4.2%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%
Divided reaction, ambivalence	4.6	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0
Same as others, can't generalize	9.3	3.2	0.0	8.3	3.5	12.2
Varied degrees of success	2.3	14.5	8.3	0.0	0.0	9.8
17) "Would you say that Indians in this state have serious problems?"						
No answer	4.6	8.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Yes	88.4	64.5	87.5	87.5	86.2	95.1
No	0.0	0.0	4.2	4.2	0.0	2.4
Yes (changed word "state" to "city")	2.3	25.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know	0.0	1.6	0.0	4.2	6.9	0.0
Not "serious" problems	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	0.0
Same as other lower class groups	2.3	0.0	4.2	4.2	3.5	2.4
18) "If so, what kind of problems are there?"						
"Poor housing?"						
No answer	9.3	17.7	16.7	4.2	6.9	9.8
Yes	88.4	80.7	83.3	91.7	82.8	87.8

TRAINING IN ALL AGENCIES INDICATES A VAST GAP IN THE KIND OF INPUTS THAT WOULD HELP TO ALLEVIATE THE FEELINGS OF INADEQUACY AND FRUSTRATION INDICATED BY MANY AGENCY PERSONNEL. IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT THESE FEELINGS OF INADEQUACY AND FRUSTRATION EXIST EVEN WHERE THE MAJORITY OF AGENCY PERSONNEL HAVE A COMPARATIVELY SOPHISTICATED UNDERSTANDING OF THE CULTURAL AND CROSS-CULTURAL PROBLEMS OF INDIAN AND WHITE PEOPLE LIVING AND WORKING TOGETHER IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT. Obviously, the quality of the education or training programs designed to increase specific understandings of Indian people and their styles of life would be directly related to the quality of information about these people available to designers and teachers of training programs.

"Would you say that Indians in this state have serious problems?"

The majority of the agency respondents indicated that Indians in Minnesota have serious problems. In fact, 86 to 95 per cent of the agency personnel interviewed by LWV interviewers answered this question affirmatively.

"If so, what kinds of problems are there?"
"Poor housing?"

Again, from between 80.7 and 91.7 per cent of the agency personnel interviewed felt that Indian people had problems with poor housing, although nearly 7% of the Welfare personnel interviewed indicated that even though Indians had problems with poor housing, they themselves were the cause of the problem or chose to live with it.

"Sanitation problems?"

Similarly, upwards of two thirds of the respondents interviewed felt that sanitation problems were related to Indian living in Minnesota. Again, about

7% of the Welfare respondents indicated that Indians were the cause of this problem or chose to live with it.

"Lack job opportunities?"

At least half, and up to 68.3% of the agency personnel interviewed felt that Indians definitely lack job opportunities in Minnesota. But many personnel indicated a "no" response to this question (the sole exception was Education). In addition, some personnel in each category - with the exception of Justice and Employment - indicated a "don't know" response, and Justice and Public Welfare personnel in 4.7 and 6.9 per cent of the cases, respectively, indicated that the opportunities are there if Indians but will take advantage of them. ON THE WHOLE, RESPONSES TO THIS QUESTION INDICATE A LOWER LEVEL OF SYMPATHY WITH INDIAN PROBLEMS THAN IN THE FOREGOING QUESTIONS. IT MIGHT BE SAID THAT WITH RESPECT TO SANITATION AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES THE "BLAME" FOR SUCH PROBLEMS IS SHIFTED AWAY FROM THE ENVIRONMENT AND OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES AND MORE DIRECTLY TOWARD INDIANS. The high "no answer" categories also lend support to this judgment.

	Justice	Education	Employ-ment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
18) (continued)						
Yes, they cause or choose it	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.9%	2.4%
Don't know	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0
By our standards of living but perhaps not by theirs	2.3	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Same as other poverty groups	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	0.0
"Sanitation problems?"						
No answer	27.9	24.2	29.2	12.5	10.3	26.8
Yes	69.8	74.2	66.7	83.3	75.8	70.7
Yes, they cause or choose it	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.9	2.4
No	0.0	0.0	4.1	0.0	3.5	0.0
By our standards but maybe not by theirs	2.3	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Same as other poverty groups	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	0.0
Don't know	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0
"Health problems?"						
No answer	32.6	21.0	29.2	12.5	6.9	24.4
Yes	60.5	77.4	66.7	83.3	82.8	70.7
Yes, they cause or choose it	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.9	2.4
No	0.0	0.0	4.1	0.0	0.0	2.4
Don't know	2.3	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0
By our standards but maybe not by theirs	2.3	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

"Unfair labor market?"

Percentages vary widely in response to this question. From about 35% (Justice) to 63% (Miscellaneous) of the respondents indicate a categorical "yes" response to the question. But many (ranging from 8% of the Health respondents to 35% of the Justice respondents) agency personnel failed to answer this question, and many disagreed with it: from none of the Education personnel and only 4% of the Miscellaneous personnel all the way up to 29.2% of the Employment personnel. Again, about 7% of the Public Welfare personnel indicated that opportunities for employment are there if Indians want them, while other Public Welfare personnel (13.8%) indicated that the labor market is not unfair, but that there is a lack of education and training of Indians for available jobs.

"Lack proper education?"

From 54% (Employment) to 88% (Health) of the agency personnel interviewed felt that Indians lacked a proper education. School personnel felt that this was the case in 66% of the cases, although 24% of them chose not to answer this question (29% of Employment personnel did not answer). Almost fourteen per cent of the Public Welfare personnel felt that the opportunities for a proper education are there, but that Indians don't take advantage of them. Seven per cent of the Justice personnel answered "no" to this question, as did from 2.4 to 4.2% of the personnel in all other categories except Health (0%). It is interesting that 81.4% of the Justice personnel indicated an improper education, together with 85.4% of the Miscellaneous category personnel. ALL IN ALL, DESPITE SOME TENDENCY IN TWO CASES TO NOT RESPOND TO THE QUESTION, AND DESPITE SOME FURTHER QUESTIONING IN A FEW CASES, THE OVERWHELMING CONSENSUS OF THE 233 AGENCY PERSONNEL INTERVIEWED BY LWV INTERVIEWERS IS THAT INDIAN PEOPLE IN MINNESOTA

	Justice	Education	Employment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
18) (continued)						
Same as other poverty groups	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.5%	0.0%
"Lack job opportunities?"						
No answer	18.6	17.7	12.5	4.2	10.3	17.1
Yes	48.8	67.7	58.3	62.5	51.7	68.3
No	18.6	0.0	25.0	12.5	10.3	2.4
Don't know	0.0	8.1	0.0	8.3	6.9	4.9
No, there is lack of initiative, etc.	4.7	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0
No. there is lack of education/training	2.3	0.0	4.2	8.3	13.8	7.3
Opportunities are there if they want them	4.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.9	0.0
Opportunities are there but Indians don't have training and job skills	2.3	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
"It is changing"	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
"Unfair labor market?"						
No answer	34.9	22.6	12.5	8.3	10.3	21.9
Yes	34.9	61.3	54.2	58.3	48.3	63.4
No	16.3	0.0	29.2	12.5	13.8	2.4
Don't know	0.0	9.7	0.0	8.3	6.9	4.9
To a degree	7.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No, there is lack of initiative, etc.	2.3	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0

	Justice	Education	Employment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
18) (continued)						
No, there is lack of education/training	4.6%	4.8%	0.0%	8.3%	13.8%	7.3%
Opportunities are there if they want them	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.9	0.0
"It is changing"	0.0	1.6	4.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
"Lack of proper education?"						
No answer	9.3	24.2	29.2	4.2	10.3	9.8
Yes	81.4	66.1	54.2	87.5	62.1	85.4
No	7.0	3.2	4.2	0.0	3.5	2.4
Don't know	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	2.4
Opportunities are there; they don't take advantage of them	0.0	3.2	0.0	8.3	13.8	0.0
Little or no further education after high school	2.3	1.6	4.2	0.0	3.5	0.0
Yes, education and training	0.0	1.6	4.2	0.0	3.5	0.0
"Drink too much? a drinking problem?"						
No answer	23.3	17.7	37.5	12.5	6.9	17.1
Yes	62.8	37.1	45.8	62.5	62.1	48.8
Yes, different or worse than drinking problems of others	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No	2.3	1.6	4.2	0.0	3.5	7.3
Don't know	2.3	14.5	4.2	16.7	0.0	9.8

	Justice	Education	Employment	Health	Public Welfare	Misc.
18) (continued)						
Some may, "but not the ones I see", hearsay	0.0%	1.6%	4.2%	4.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Seems to be a problem of many in lower class, not particularly Indians	4.7	14.5	0.0	4.2	10.3	7.3
It is a self-chosen problem	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	0.0
Not as a general rule; some do, some don't	0.0	11.3	4.2	0.0	13.8	9.8
"Is there general discrimination against Indians?"						
No answer	16.3	24.2	29.2	12.5	10.3	19.5
Yes	53.5	45.2	29.2	58.3	37.9	48.8
Yes, noting it is worse against Indians than against Negroes	0.0	1.6	4.2	4.2	0.0	2.4
Yes, noting that it is not worse than Negroes suffer	0.0	4.8	4.2	0.0	13.8	2.4
No	16.3	8.1	16.7	4.2	17.2	12.2
Don't know	0.0	1.6	4.2	4.2	3.5	9.8
Some, not always or not much	7.0	8.1	12.5	4.2	13.8	2.4
It is decreasing	2.3	1.6	0.0	0.0	3.5	2.4
Not much more than others	2.3	4.8	0.0	12.5	0.0	0.0
Not too much between Indian and white youth	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

LACK THE PROPER EDUCATION FOR DEALING WITH AN URBAN ENVIRONMENT, AND, BY IMPLICATION, THE RESERVATION ENVIRONMENT.

"Drink too much?" "A drinking problem?"

From 37 to 65 per cent of the agency personnel interviewed do feel that Indian people have a drinking problem. (The figure of about 65% was obtained by adding the two affirmative responses of the Justice category.) Education and Public Welfare personnel indicated in 14.5 and 10.3 per cent of the cases, respectively, that this problem seems to be a problem of many in the lower classes, not particularly Indians. In the same two personnel categories, 11.3% of the Education personnel and 13.8% of the Public Welfare personnel indicated that Indians do not as a general rule have a drinking problem; "some do, some don't". Other personnel also indicated in lower percentages of cases other types of responses, although most of these indicated that a problem does exist. IN SUM, IT DOES APPEAR THAT MOST RESPONDENTS INDICATE THAT INDIANS DO HAVE A DRINKING PROBLEM, ALTHOUGH SOME RESPONDENTS INDICATE THAT THIS PROBLEM IS NO GREATER FOR INDIANS THAN FOR OTHER CATEGORIES OF POOR PEOPLE.

"Is there general discrimination against Indians?"

The majority of respondents in allagency personnel categories indicated that there is general discrimination against Indians in Minnesota. Again,"no answer" tendencies were high - particularly in the Education and Employment categories, but not so high across the board as in some other questions. Public Welfare personnel indicated in about 14% of the cases that while there is general discrimination against Indians in Minnesota, it is not worse than that which Negroes suffer, while an equal percentage of Public Welfare personnel indicated that there is some general discrimination against Indians, but that it is not very intense and does not regularly occur. *With the exception of comparatively low percentages in the Health and Education categories*, many agency personnel did *not* feel that there is general discrimination against Indians in Minnesota. In decreasing order, the percentages for this response went as follows: Public Welfare, 17.2%; Employment, 16.7%; Justice, 16.3%; Miscellaneous, 12.2%; Education, 8.1%; Health, 4.2%. Health personnel felt - in distinction to other categories - that discrimination against Indians is not much more than the discrimination shown to others in the state. *OVERALL, THE DIRECT "YES" RESPONSES TOGETHER WITH THE INDIRECT RESPONSES OF AGREEMENT INDICATE THAT THERE IS STRONG FEELING ON THE PART OF AGENCY PERSONNEL THAT SOME KIND OF GENERAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST INDIANS IN MINNESOTA EXISTS. SOME AGENCY PERSONNEL WOULD MODIFY THIS GENERALIZATION - ALTHOUGH THEY WOULD AGREE THAT THERE IS DISCRIMINATION - BY SUGGESTING THAT THE DISCRIMINATION IS NOT SO INTENSE, OR THAT IT IS NOT DIFFERENT FROM THAT SHOWN TOWARD OTHER MINORITY PERSONS.*

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF AGENCY PERSONNEL ATTITUDES

For the most part, the conclusions offered in the previous sections of this report speak for themselves. But perhaps the most important three considerations for this concluding section are:

The problem of obtaining specific knowledge about urban Indians as this knowledge relates to the mission of the particular agency.

The problem of putting this information to use in modifying the mission of the agency, as this mission relates to urban Indians, including the problem of agency intransigence to change, even when some agency personnel wish the agency to change in order to better complete its mission.

The problem of inadequate knowledge and trust by Indians themselves of agencies, agency personnel, and agency missions and the resulting inability to influence agency change in the direction desired by Indians.

Attempts to develop solutions to the first problem will demand that many more Indian people who understand in detail the agency-related problems of urban Indians be brought into information-gathering and training roles. At present, too much of the "training" of agency personnel by both Indians and non-Indians involves a heavy utilization of persons who have "the message" about only a few characteristics of urban Indians: they tend to lack the depth and breadth of knowledge necessary to fuller understanding by agency personnel of Indian life-styles and their origins. The business of gathering this knowledge, then processing it into usable instructiona packages is a professional-level task. Many Indian and non-Indian persons who are currently engaged in disseminating information about urban Indians simply do not have full enough knowledge of this population, and in most cases have little or no training in the communication of this information to agency personnel. THEREFORE, THE PROBLEM OF INADEQUATE KNOWLEDGE ABOUT URBAN INDIANS AND INADEQUATE COMMUNICATIONS

SYSTEMS TO DELIVER THAT KNOWLEDGE SHOULD BE MET AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE IF AGENCY PERSONNEL ARE TO RECEIVE THE QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION AND BACKGROUNDING NECESSARY TO PROVIDE MORE RELEVANT AND HIGHER-QUALITY SERVICES TO URBAN INDIANS.

Professional-level Indian people are already involved in many projects in the Twin Cities area which, operating in a concerted way, might be the source of a vastly improved range of facts and perspectives on urban Indian life. Brochures, posters, hand-outs, film strips, slides, movies, television tapes, radio programs, forms of mass media advertising, and other resources could be profitably utilized by Indian and non-Indian professionals. Such communications aids might decrease the substantive knowledge gap that helps to prevent agencies from more adequately fulfilling their missions as these relate to urban Indians.

Similarly, these same professional-level Indian persons and their co-workers could engage the assistance of knowledgeable and willing non-Indians to help deal with the third major problem, the inadequate understanding of agencies and their functions by urban Indians themselves. One must learn to use services. Coming from the reservation environment to a strange and puzzling city setting, Indian people may find that their initial encounters with urban agencies are so traumatic that further contact is regarded with anxiety or perhaps not sought out at all. With particular variations suited to a different learning population, Indians and non-Indians could also work together to decrease the information and understanding gap between urban Indians and metropolitan agencies. Particularly useful in this kind of orienting and familiarizing program would be the urban American Indian centers. Earlier, this report called for the establishment of viable, well-funded Indian centers for a variety of purposes, including providing information about community services to incoming and residential Indians. These Indian Centers, working in concert with Indian interest groups and supportive non-Indian agencies and interest groups, could go a long way toward building up information about actual agency operations. This information - particularly the steps needed to secure services - could then be made available to Indians on a wide basis.

The second problem calls attention to the "natural" tendency of bureaucratic structures to resist change and to rigidify as time passes. In this process, service functions - or those operations for which the agency was originally intended tend to become submerged in importance and often to undergo quality deterioration. Indian professionals, and others who are interested in upgrading agency services to Indian people, might recognize that many agency personnel are cognizant of such problems and how they affect services. These same personnel are often unhappy or frustrated by the impediments that prevent them from doing their jobs as well as they might, and therefore PROVIDE NATURAL ALLIES FOR INDIANS AND OTHERS WISHING TO WORK FROM WITHIN ORGANIZATIONS - AS WELL AS FROM WITHOUT - TO "FREE THEM UP" FOR BETTER PERFORMANCE OF THEIR MISSIONS AS THESE RELATE TO URBAN INDIANS. One way of working both from without and within organizations is not only to work with one particular organization - perhaps one concerned with housing - but also to work in a "pan-agency" manner in order to secure additional internal assistance from many agencies involved with serving urban Indian people. The limited forces marshalled to work cooperatively toward a common problem - the upgrading of services to Indians and the provision of more relevant services - might tend in this arrangement to work in close communication and harmony with each other. An operational strategy of pan-agency cooperation could save much valuable time for the small numbers of Indians and others who manage agency change projects. In sum, it seems easier to envision a cooperative program for multi-agency improvement of services to urban Indian people than isolated programs which would concentrate on one agency at a time.

In any agency change projects, ATTENTION SHOULD BE FOCUSED ON VISIBLE CHANGES IN THE QUALITY OF AGENCY SERVICES TO INDIAN PEOPLE, SO THAT INDIANS MAY SEE FOR

THEMSELVES HOW INFORMED, CONCERTED, PRAGMATIC ACTIVITY CAN ACTUALLY LEAD TO SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES IN THE SERVICES. WITHOUT THIS INCREMENTAL ASPECT IN CHANGE PROGRAMS, MOST INDIANS - AND MANY OTHERS - MAY DOUBT THAT SERIOUS COMMITMENT TO IMPROVEMENT OF AGENCY SERVICES REALLY EXISTS, OR MAY BELIEVE THAT CHANGES - WHEN THEY DO COME - WILL BE TOO SMALL AND TOO LATE.

The key elements of the cooperative scheme suggested above might be listed as follows:

Cooperative Indian-white determination of agency-related problems, with the assistance of professional-technical expertise from available sources (including the agencies themselves);
Cooperative evaluation of the relative importance of the problem areas, and the suggestion of appropriate solutions;
Long-term commitment on the part of Indian people and agency personnel to effect necessary changes and to provide for evaluation of change efforts, according to community and agency criteria;
Establishment of a coalition group (or groups) of competent Indian and white people to program, direct, and evaluate the above.

APPENDIX

AMERICAN INDIAN EMPLOYMENT CENTER
APPLICANTS

Non-High School Graduates Vs. High School Graduates, by Sex
(Tables in percentages; N's in parentheses)

TELEPHONE	NHSG		HSG	
	(431) M	(149) F	(120) M	(40) F
NA	26.7	26.2	13.3	7.5
Yes	44.1	49.0	60.8	72.5
No	29.2	24.8	25.8	20.0
	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0

CAR	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
NA	3.9	4.0	.8	2.5
Yes	22.5	11.4	29.2	20.0
No	73.5	84.6	70.0	77.5
	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

AGE	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
NA	.7	.7	.8	0.0
Up to and including 15	.5	2.7	0.0	0.0
16-22	40.6	55.0	32.5	57.5
23-40	44.5	32.2	59.2	42.5
41-64	13.7	9.4	7.5	0.0
65 and above	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

AMERICAN INDIAN EMPLOYMENT CENTER
APPLICANTS

NHSG Vs. HSG, by Sex

MARITAL STATUS	NHSG		HSG	
	(431)	(149)	(120)	(40)
	M	F	M	F
NA	2.8	1.3	3.3	0.0
Single	57.1	57.0	51.7	60.0
Married	29.9	24.8	36.7	25.0
Separated	6.7	12.8	3.3	10.0
Divorced	2.6	2.7	3.3	5.0
Widowed	.9	1.3	1.7	0.0
	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0

PHYSICAL DEFECTS	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
NA	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.5
Yes	7.4	4.0	6.7	0.0
No	90.0	93.3	90.8	97.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

MILITARY SERVICE	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
NA	3.9	14.8	0.0	20.0
Yes	34.1	2.0	55.8	7.5
No	61.9	83.2	44.2	72.5
	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

AMERICAN INDIAN EMPLOYMENT CENTER
APPLICANTS

NHSG Vs. HSG, by Sex

INDIAN BLOOD	NHSG		HSG	
	(431) M	(149) F	(120) M	(40) F
NA	7.0	11.4	8.3	7.5
Less than ¼	4.2	4.7	4.2	17.5
¼ - ½	32.7	23.5	34.2	25.0
½ - full	55.5	60.4	53.5	50.0
White	.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Negro	.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0

TRIBAL AFFILIATION	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
NA	7.7	6.7	5.8	7.5
Chippewa	84.2	83.9	75.0	82.5
Sioux	5.6	6.0	14.2	5.0
Other Indian	2.3	3.4	5.0	5.0
White	.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

RESERVATION	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
White Earth	23.4	22.8	15.8	30.0
Mille Lacs	10.0	10.1	9.2	7.5
Fond du Lac	2.6	6.0	2.5	5.0

AMERICAN INDIAN EMPLOYMENT CENTER
APPLICANTS

NHSG Vs. HSG, by Sex

RESERVATION (Cont'd.)	NHSG		HSG	
	(431)	(149)	(120)	(40)
	M	F	M	F
Red Lake	22.0	24.8	20.8	17.5
Leech Lake	14.8	13.4	15.0	27.5
Nett Lake	1.6	3.4	5.0	2.5
Grand Portage	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Wisconsin	.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
North and South Dakota	3.2	6.7	5.0	5.0
Other	21.8	12.8	26.7	5.0
	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

PLACE OF BIRTH	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
White Earth	17.2	14.1	14.2	20.0
Mille Lacs	3.0	4.7	2.5	0.0
Fond du Lac	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Red Lake	20.4	23.5	20.0	17.5
Leech Lake	.7	0.0	.8	0.0
Nett Lake	1.6	.7	.8	0.0
Grand Portage	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Wisconsin	.9	.7	0.0	0.0
North and South Dakota	5.1	6.7	7.5	2.5
Other	51.0	49.7	54.2	60.0
	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0

AMERICAN INDIAN EMPLOYMENT CENTER
APPLICANTS

NHSG Vs. HSG, by Sex

ASSISTANCE FROM BIA	NHSG		HSG	
	(431)	(149)	(120)	(40)
	M	F	M	F
NA	6.0	2.7	2.5	2.5
Yes	20.0	12.1	36.7	37.5
No	74.0	85.2	60.8	60.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TYPE OF ASSISTANCE	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
NA	80.9	91.9	63.3	65.0
Relocation	13.7	2.7	20.8	12.5
Other	5.3	5.4	15.8	22.5
	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.0

TIME IN TWIN CITIES	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
NA	3.5	2.7	7.5	5.0
Less than 30 days	34.6	24.8	25.8	27.5
1 - 3 months	8.6	10.1	9.2	7.5
4 - 6 months	5.6	6.7	8.3	5.0
7 - 11 months	3.7	7.4	9.2	2.5
1 - 2 years	9.7	12.1	6.7	15.0
3 - 5 years	10.0	10.1	6.7	7.5
6 - 9 years	5.8	8.7	6.7	7.5
10 years and more	18.6	17.4	20.0	22.5
	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.0

AMERICAN INDIAN EMPLOYMENT CENTER APPLICANTS

NHSG Vs. HSG, by Sex

LENGTH OF TIME AT PRESENT ADDRESS	NHSG		HSG	
	(431) M	(149) F	(120) M	(40) F
NA	10.0	2.7	8.3	2.5
Less than 30 days	39.2	32.2	30.0	37.5
1 - 3 months	14.6	20.8	20.0	25.0
4 - 6 months	10.2	16.1	12.5	5.0
7 - 11 months	6.3	8.7	8.3	2.5
1 - 2 years	13.2	13.4	10.0	20.0
3 - 5 years	4.9	3.4	5.8	5.0
6 - 9 years	.7	1.3	1.7	2.5
10 years and more	.9	1.3	3.3	0.0
	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0

COST OF RENT AND UTILITIES	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
NA	56.4	44.3	45.8	42.5
0	.5	0.0	.8	0.0
$1 - $24/month	1.6	1.3	2.5	2.5
$25 - $49/month	5.8	8.7	5.8	0.0
$50 - $74/month	12.3	16.8	14.2	20.0
$75 - $99/month	15.5	20.8	20.8	22.5
$100 - $124/month	7.2	6.0	6.7	7.5
$125 - $149/month	.5	.7	3.3	2.5
$150 and more	.2	1.3	0.0	2.5
	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0

AMERICAN INDIAN EMPLOYMENT CENTER
APPLICANTS

NHSG Vs. HSG, by Sex

DEBTS	NHSG		HSG	
	(431)	(149)	(120)	(40)
	M	F	M	F
NA	20.0	17.4	13.3	20.0
Yes	12.8	14.1	23.3	30.0
No	67.3	68.5	63.3	50.0
	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0

PRESENT ASSISTANCE (WELFARE)	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
NA	14.2	11.4	8.3	20.0
Yes	3.7	9.4	1.7	15.0
No	82.1	79.2	90.0	65.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

UNION MEMBERSHIP	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
NA	16.2	17.4	9.2	12.5
Yes	.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
No	83.3	82.6	90.8	87.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SPEICAL SKILLS AND TRAINING	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
NA	11.1	14.1	7.5	10.0
Military	3.5	2.0	2.5	10.0
On-the-job training	29.9	21.5	48.3	32.5
Other	55.4	62.4	41.7	47.5
	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

AMERICAN INDIAN EMPLOYMENT CENTER APPLICANTS

NHSG Vs. HSG, by Sex

INTEREST IN FURTHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING	NHSG		HSG	
	(431) M	(149) F	(120) M	(40) F
NA	9.3	8.7	10.8	15.0
Yes	55.9	57.7	55.8	60.0
No	34.8	33.6	33.3	25.0
	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0

TYPE OF WORK INTEREST	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
NA	9.5	10.7	7.5	12.5
Anything	31.8	15.4	29.2	15.0
General factory, warehouse labor	26.0	44.3	28.3	20.0
Driving and auto service	6.0	0.0	8.3	0.0
Construction trades	2.8	0.0	1.7	2.5
Clerical and office work	.5	7.4	.8	22.5
Household, domestic and hospital	.7	15.4	0.0	10.0
Specific occupations not covered above	22.7	6.7	24.2	17.5
	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0

HARVEST WILD RICE	NHSG		HSG	
	M	F	M	F
NA	16.9	18.1	15.8	27.5
Yes	37.1	20.1	30.0	30.0
No	45.9	61.7	54.2	42.5
	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0

AMERICAN INDIAN EMPLOYMENT CENTER
APPLICANTS

NHSG Vs. HSG, by Sex

NUMBER OF REFERRALS	NHSG (431) M	NHSG (149) F	HSG (120) M	HSG (40) F
NA	20.2	20.1	24.2	22.5
One	56.8	57.7	55.8	47.5
Two	14.6	15.4	8.3	25.0
Three	4.9	4.0	7.5	2.5
Four	2.3	1.3	2.5	0.0
Five	.7	0.0	.8	0.0
Six	0.0	1.3	.8	2.5
Seven	.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Eight and above	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
	100.0	99.8	99.9	100.0

AGENCY TO WHICH REFERRED	NHSG M	NHSG F	HSG M	HSG F
NA	26.0	27.5	28.3	30.0
Social service	4.9	2.7	5.8	7.5
Vocational training	3.2	0.0	1.7	0.0
OEO programs	2.6	4.7	5.0	7.5
Job Corps and NYC	3.7	4.0	0.0	0.0
Financial assistance	1.2	0.0	.8	0.0
Commercial store or plant	58.5	61.1	58.3	55.0
	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0